Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-137
Tuesday
20 July 1993

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FBIS-EEU-93-137 *20 July 1993*

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Churkin Holds News Conference on Talks in Belgrade

AU1907201093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Report by Branka Kerkez]

[Text] Special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin positively assessed his two-hour talk with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Churkin said that he discussed a large number of issues with President Milosevic, particularly the progress in settling problems that exist between Zagreb and Knin and ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Churkin recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Talks are possible and I believe that progress can be made in these talks. According to the proposals that have now emerged from the three warring sides, I think that they could be brought together. It is also important that the three sides themselves believe that all this could be brought together. In any case, this is easier said than done.

Difficult negotiations are still ahead of us. I also believe and it is the general view that we must act quickly. This is an imperative set by the urgency of the situation on the ground in Bosnia. This is also necessitated by the political dynamics of the talks. I also think... [pauses] I said that we think that it is very important that Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman meet in Geneva. In the past few days I was speaking in favor of and encouraging the continuation of this process. We continue to believe that relations between Belgrade and Zagreb can improve, that the groundwork exists for something like that to be made possible. I also asked President Izetbegovic to join in this process, especially concerning the settlement of the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Churkin also informed journalists that he conveyed to President Milosevic the Russian position that the extension of the mandate of the CSCE mission should be reconsidered. He added that President Milosevic and Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic will soon discuss this with a three-member CSCE delegation, and that Russia is preparing to send its envoy to the mission for Kosovo.

After the meeting with FRY President Zoran Lilic, Vitaliy Churkin expressed satisfaction for having had the opportunity to meet the new Yugoslav president and wish him success in his work.

[Begin Churkin recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We of course discussed the current situation, and tried to look at the situation after the war, conflicts, and crisis, in the hope and expectation that we will soon achieve peace in this region. We discussed future relations between the Russian Federation and Yugoslavia. The president expressed a firm belief that our two countries have a great future, that they will cooperate, and that efforts will be made in the future to improve the situation in the Balkans, Europe, and in international cooperation.

I, of course, shared this wish for productive and important ties in the future. The president had many nice words about the role of Russia in the Balkans and Europe. This was a very broad discussion. I am satisfied with the fact that the president will play a positive role in the development of relations between Yugoslavia and Russia. I assured him that in all these constructive steps, actions, and decisions, which will be taken by him and by Yugoslavia, he will enjoy full support and understanding of the Russian federation. [end recording]

Speaking about the settlement of the conflict on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Churkin expressed cautious optimism, because, as he said, the war in Bosnia is still going on, although some positive shifts have been noticed. He mentioned as encouraging examples the agreement on the Maslenica bridge and the forthcoming tripartite meeting on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Churkin also expressed the hope that Alija Izetbegovic will take part in the negotiations in Geneva. He also stated that during this visit he will only telephone Radovan Karadzic. He said that he will travel to Vojvodina tomorrow [20 July].

Special Russian envoy continued talks with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic late this afternoon.

Expects War To End 'Soon'

AU1907141693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. We have just received a statement by Churkin. Jelena Radovanov reports:

[Radovanov] Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin said that his talks with President Tudjman in Zagreb, with the leaders in Knin, President Izetbegovic in Sarajevo, and today's talks with President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade were very satisfactory. This was an exchange of views, Churkin said, during which we today principally discussed relations between Zagreb and Knin and the prospects of the war ending in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I could tell you, Churkin said, that I think we can expect the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina to start abating slowly, because one could conclude from the talks that I have had that there is an increasing number of similar views among the three sides. I also expect the next round of talks in Geneva next week to be successful and the military clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina to stop soon.

Churkin Meets With Milosevic

LD1907175493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—We are witnessing an important political moment for resolution of the

crisis in former Yugoslavia. I hope that we have come to the point at which there is a possibility to bring stands of the warring sides closer and this ought to be used, Vitaliy Churkin, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, stated today. Following two-hour talks with Slobodan Milosevic which were held behind closed doors, Vitaliy Churkin said that he had "very meaningful talks" with the Serbian president on a series of issues, most prominent of which were the problem of Croatian-Krajina relations and a possibility to stop the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Now we are able to very gradually bring the opposing sides a little more closer," Churkin said. He also briefed the Serbian president on the talks that he had in Zagreb, Knin, and Sarajevo over the past weekend. With a certain degree of optimism he concluded today that "talks are possible." "Whichever place I visited I witnessed desire that a solution be found. Of course, differences in interpretations about what ought to be done and about methods for searching for solutions exist, but this is no longer a static situation," Churkin said.

He added that progress as regards settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbo-Croatian relations is possible, and that trilateral talks on Bosnia could be held in Geneva next week. "Serious negotiations are still ahead of us, but there is agreement that everybody should work fast. That is an imperative set by dynamism of the current political talks and the situation in the field," he said.

"I am pleased with what I have achieved in every place I visited over the past few days, because I saw the signs of a desire to reach an agreement," the Russian envoy stressed. Churkin pointed at the importance of refraining from military activities in the field where, as he said, "the situation is very complex." In talks with the UN Protection Force commander in Kiseljak in particular he was briefed about "an extremely complex situation and the ongoing fighting."

In conclusion the Russian president's envoy told journalists that it was very important that Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman met in Geneva and said his opinion was that Belgrade-Zagreb relations could improve. Churkin said that the talks with the Serbian president also tackled the CSCE mission in Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Sandzak, and in this regard he said that "Russia believes that the CSCE plays an important political role for all, including Yugoslavia and Serbia." He asked President Milosevic to enable the CSCE mission to continue its work.

Milosevic Issues Statement

LD1907155993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 19 July (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin. Their talks focused on the current issues of the Yugoslav crisis and the progress of the latest Geneva negotiations, the Serian president's office announced.

A conclusion was reached that considerable progress toward the easing of tension was made at a meeting between the Serbian and Croatian presidents in Geneva, which may have a particularly positive influence on reaching a political agreement on a confederation of three republics in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Permanent peace can undoubtfully be achieved by reaching an agreement on the offered proposals.

The proposal on which the Serb and the Croat sides have agreed is not to the detriment of the Muslims, but is primarily in the interest of peace and would create conditions for every nation to freely arrange its economic, social, and cultural life on the territory that belongs to it, in accordance with its national interests and rights. It was met with understanding by the majority of the international public as a realistic and viable solution. Therefore, it is necessary to speed up negotiations on remaining open issues, cease all hostilities, and restore stable peace.

Regarding the process of normalizing the relations between the Serbs and Croats, it was emphasized that the agreement reached recently between Krajina and Croatia had given impetus to the process, and that, to complete it successfully, the negotiations on the issues of mutual interest between the representatives of the Serb Krajina and Croatia should continue.

It is very significant that the reached agreement, which is of great importance for the successful continuation of the negotiations, is implemented with consistency, since for the process to succeed, it is necessary to establish a certain degree of mutual trust.

It was stressed in the course of the meeting that even if there ever had been some seemingly justifiable grounds for introducing sanctions against Serbia, the developments so far have shown, beyond any doubt, that there were no moral or material reasons for their continuing implementation. Expectations have been voiced that Russia will contribute toward having this unjust and compromised method to be removed from the scene of international relations, in light of the facts surrounding the Yugoslav crisis and the peace-loving policy conducted by the Serbian Republic.

Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also took part in the talks.

Churkin Meets With Lilic

LD1907192593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister and Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, met FRY President Zoran Lilic in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade today. [passage omitted]

Regarding the situation in Krajina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Churkin said that he is trying to be an optimist, but at the same time he has to be cautious because fighting is still under way on the ground.

Churkin said that he "could see certain progress in the attitudes of the parties in the conflict". An agreement on the Maslenica bridge and on resuming air traffic at Zemunik airport has been reached as well as on the withdrawal of the Croatian troops from Krajina, he said. "If this is observed then conditions might be created for an important new development towards peace in the area," the Russian envoy said.

Churkin stressed that the progress achieved so far is leading towards three-partite negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, adding that an agreement could only be reached if the political will existed for it.

I believe that Russia has a very important role now, Churkin said, adding: "We had a philosophical discussion with President Lilic about Russia's role and the means that are in our disposal. Russia has come out of a very difficult period of adjustment after the breakup of the former USSR. Now that the process has ended we are in a better position and are more able to act in the international arena, in Europe and in the Balkans," he added. Churkin noted that Russia's influence now is different from the influence of the USSR in the cold-war period.

Our influence is exercized through dialogue with important factors in the international political arena, Churkin said adding that Russia's stand on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia is influential for the very reason that Russia is in a position to hold dialogue with the actors in the international political arena.

Asked by journalists if Izetbegovic would travel to the Geneva tripartite talks, Churkin, who visited Zagreb, Knin, and Sarajevo at the weekend, said that "he hoped that he would." "There are certain obstacles and conflicts, but I told him that he should go to Geneva despite that," Churkin said. The confrontations between the Croats and Muslims are also a reason for him to seek a peaceful solution, he added.

Asked if he would meet Karadzic today, as it has been previously announced, Vitaliy Churkin said that unfortunately the meeting would not materialize because Karadzic is unable to come to Belgrade, but that perhaps he would be able to contact him later this evening over the phone. President Yeltsin's special envoy is traveling to Vojvodina today where he is expected to meet the Vojvodina leadership, as well as representatives of the province's Hungarian minority.

Owen Views Peace Negotiations on Bosnia

LD2007095393 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Interview with EC mediator Lord David Owen by announcer Jon Snow; from the "Channel Four" program—live]

[Text] [Snow] Given that the EC did not decide to impose sanctions on Croatia today, and given that there is no sign that the international community intends any serious repercussions on either Serbia or Croatia beyond what's happened, can you really seriously go on hoping to negotiate a meaningful and just peace?

[Owen] Well, I think that we are in a difficult position over negotiating a just peace because the war has dictated a pattern of peace settlement, and I deeply regret that, and I am not going to try and pretend that the peace settlement that I hope can come out of the next few weeks negotiations is ideal. It's far from ideal, but it faces up to the reality which is a country that is already now divided tragically to a great extent on ethnic grounds, and it faces up to the reality that the Croat-Muslim coalition, which took them through the referendum and was meant to keep the combined government together over the last year, has now been torn asunder, and some of the most severe fighting and ethnic cleansing is taking place between Croats and Muslims.

[Snow] I want to come to the Muslim position in just a moment, but first, today's events in Brussels. I mean, does the fact that the EC foreign ministers feel it necessary to send the new Belgian Presidency around the region again, does that weaken your hand or strengthen it?

[Owen] No, I think it strengthens it. I think it is necessary to say very strongly to President Tujman that we cannot accept the ethnic cleansing that has undoubtedly happened over the last few days, once again in Mostar. I remember that on this program back in the autumn of last year that we saw evidence of Croatian ethnic cleansing in [word indistinct], and I condemned it very strongly then and they didn't like it then. And I think we cannot ignore this thing that is happening, where people are being herded out of their houses and men collected together are being shunted off into some camp, and I think therefore the EC has got to make it clear that it can't tolerate this sort of thing.

[Snow] Right now, on the question of the Muslims, President Izetbegovic has been very resistant to coming to Geneva to talk with you because he didn't feel he could deliver it to his own people. Do you think he seems to moving back in the direction of coming to see you?

[Owen] Well, he said yesterday that he thought-....[pauses] Reluctantly he had come to the conclusion that maybe they would have to live with the three-part division into three republics, not because he wanted it but because that was what was happening and had

happened on the ground. He has said that he wouldn't come before electricity and water supplies had been restored; now that has been restored, but he also had an anxiety about coming out while the fighting was continued.

[Snow] There is a double game here, though, isn't there? Some of the holdups in restoration of services have actually been complicated by the Muslims themselves.

[Owen] Yes, this is always the trouble. You are never quite sure who, in fact, is doing what. The Muslims have at various times used their initiative to—if you like—get the situation worse in order to involve the U.S. or to somehow put the blame on the Serbs. But in this case, I think the main factor has been the Serbs depriving them of diesel, which drives the electricity plant which gets the water. The main snag here is that we are going to have to have all three parties around the table to negotiate.

[Snow] And will you achieve this?

[Owen] I hope so. If we don't, I think the winter will be a dreadful mess. It is bad enough to face next winter with all these houses shot through with holes in their walls, but if we also add a war, the second time around will really be an unmitigated disaster.

TANJUG Reports on Progress of Geneva Talks

LD1907173293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1708 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Geneva, July 19 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the international conference on the former Yugoslavia John Mills told TANJUG on Monday [19 July] that there was no indication whether representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Moslem-Croat Presidency would be coming to Geneva for negotiations.

It is unofficially learned that the representatives of the three warring sides (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) and of Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman might meet on Friday.

Diplomatic circles at the Geneva U.N. headquarters attribute little significance to Alija Izetbegovic's controversial statements. Izetbegovic dissociated himself from the Moslem-Croat Presidency's stand on Bosnia-Herzegovina's federal organization but, on the other hand, said he would not come to Geneva before clashes ceased.

A U.N. diplomat in Geneva, who asked not to be mentioned by name, said that "Bosnian Moslem leader is again directing his efforts wrongly and will not receive adequate response from the international community."

Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman last weekend reached an agreement on stopping the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the republic's confederal organization. Diplomatic circles maintain that this is a fait accompli and that the Moslem side, by refusing to negotiate, is only wasting precious time.

Diplomatic sources do not rule out the possibility that the E.C. foreign ministers, whom Lord Owen is to brief on the state on talks and situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina on Monday, will press Izetbegovic to agree to negotiate.

The same circles indicate that the E.C. foreign ministers may caution Tudjman that sanctions could be imposed on Croatia unless his country observed a five-point agreement under which the Croatian Army is to withdraw by July 31 from the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which it occupied in January.

EC To Send Mission To Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo

LD1907212193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2051 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—E.C. foreign ministers decided Monday [19 July] to urgently send a mission to Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo with a view to opening tri-partite talks on a peaceful solution to the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovinva, foreign news agencies have reported. Our aim is to bring the three sides to the Geneva negotiating table without delay, said head of the E.C. mission Willy Claes, foreign minister of Belgium, which currently holds the E.C. presidency.

A civil, ethnic and religious war between local Moslems, Serbs (Orthodox) and Croats (Catholics) raged in Bosnia-Herzegovina for 16 months. The war was caused by the insistence of Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic on a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina in which Moslems would be the dominating factor.

Bosnian Serbs and Croats proposed at the Geneva talks for Bosnia-Herzegovina to be a confederation of three ethnic mini-states (Moslem, Serb and Croatian), but the Moslem leadership has still not come up with a definitive stand on the proposal.

Izetbegovic, who offered controversial statements about the proposal and about the readiness to join the Geneva talks, told his co-religionists last weekend that if they wanted peace this year then they must reconcile themselves with ethnic partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to news agencies, Claes is on Tuesday or Wednesday at the latest to visit Zagreb with a "strong message" to the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia to stop ethnic cleansing and attacks on Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Claes declined to comment whether Croatia faced sanctions, but an unidentified diplomat told the ASSOCIATED PRESS that Claes had the authority to announce to Croatia cancellation of trade privileges with the E.C. if it failed to cooperate.

From Zagreb, the E.C. delegation, as set out, goes to Belgrade with a similar "strong message", and it is also said meeting with Izetbegovic in Sarajevo was also possible.

More severe measures against Croatia, including introduction of sanctions identical with those applied against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), were blocked at the Brussels meeting by Germany, the agencies said.

Several scores of thousand of Croatia's troops have been engaged in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the very beginning. Despite this, no sanctions have been introduced against Croatia, while the F.R.Y. was under sanctions since May 30 past year over its alleged involvement in the Bosnia war, although it had no troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the end of the ministerial meeting devoted to the war crisis in former Yugoslavia, Claes told newsmen that the E.C. was resolved that the solution to the Bosnian war must be acceptable for all three waring sides.

Russian Interest in Balkans Growing

93BA1196B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Branko Jokic: "Russia Is Coming to the Balkans Again"]

[Text] *The quiet struggle between Russia and the West for control of the Balkans; Is Yugoslavia prepared to cede the Montenegrin coast to the Russians? Greece's dual role?*

From our correspondent.

Podgorica, 21 Jun—Yeltsin's announced visit to Athens and the recent visit by Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev and his deputy Churkin to the Greek capital are attracting considerably more attention than the Greek hosts' claims that it is proof of "attention" and support for the mediation activities of Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis, which are supposed to have prevented the military conflagration in Bosnia from engulfing the southern Balkans.

A whole series of details, "minor secrets," and "coincidences," in fact, indicate that Russia's diplomatic and peace initiatives are also aimed at reacquiring influence in the Balkans again, at least where Orthodox people live.

Immediately after the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, the "Orthodox bridge" between Moscow and Belgrade started to be built by Yeltsin's predecessor Gorbachev. It became obvious after he spoke privately with Milosevic for several hours in Belgrade and after several (secret) mutual visits by representatives of the state and military leadership of the two "most important Orthodox capitals."

Russian influence in the Balkans dried up long before Gorbachev, back when the Soviets had to withdraw from the Albanian waters of the Adriatic Sea and reconcile themselves, although unwillingly, to the realization that they had been interested in Boka Kotorska for decades in vain, and that they had lost all opportunities for contacts with the Mediterranean and any sort of control over that region. Yeltsin is now trying to compensate for what was lost as soon as possible, and consequently the fears that can already be heard in the highest American diplomatic and military circles, that the former Russia may "rise from the dead," are probably not unfounded. One must admit that the Russians "came to their senses" quite late, after NATO and the United States had already cleared the way in the Balkans to a considerable degree, and thus, in Moscow's opinion, encircled not only Serbia, but also Russia.

It is true that such observations can be heard primarily from Belgrade, and not from Moscow. To what extent they are true and whether they are not just a "Serbian dream" about aid from "big brother" are questions that should be analyzed in detail. The fact is that the Americans (the American units in NATO) are sovereignly controlling not only the Balkans, but also much more remote strategic targets in (Eastern) Europe. The occupation of the Straits of Otranto and the accumulation of NATO equipment and units on Crete, in northern Africa, southern Italy, Greece, and especially along the Albanian coast (the island of Sazan, Sindjon, Valona, and Durres) are probably proof of permanent American dominance in these areas. The ring around Serbia will be closed even further with the imminent arrival of NATO units in Romania, and thus the Western military (and economic) alliance will approach "individual" targets in Eastern Europe even more.

The presence of the most prominent representatives of Russian diplomacy at the recent NATO meeting in Athens can be explained as a "game on two tracks." Some people think that Moscow is thus also attempting to convince Western friends of the sincerity of its peaceful policy and desire for "general" economic integration, and to secure more urgently needed monetary and material aid from the West. The conditions that it is setting for the inclusion of its soldiers in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, and its official and secret contacts with the Serbian and Montenegrin state leadership, and especially with Dr. Karadzic, who was "by coincidence" on a "private" visit to Athens a few days ago, are receiving a different significance and message in explanations from Orthodox diplomatic circles in the Balkans. Specifically, this is supposed to indicate a reversal in Russian policy and its interest in a "new Byzantium," i.e., a "renewal of the land of all the Orthodox," up to the Una in the west, up to Georgia and Armenia in the east, and in the south, to Istanbul, the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, and the Ionian Sea.

In spite of the sparse information and evidence of the quiet struggle for control of the Balkans, which is taking place in the shadow of the bloody war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, several details and diplomatic steps (often

contradictory ones) in recent months can undoubtedly be associated with the "new Russian project."

Yeltsin carefully avoided committing himself on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbs, and the Balkans, even though Milosevic "challenged" him. This leads "suspicious" analysts to conclude that the "disagreement" between Moscow and Belgrade was probably only staged. That game probably also includes Milosevic's "interference" in Russian internal affairs—his threats in an interview for PRAVDA (which were followed by an anything but firm Russian protest), or the information that Belgrade was financing Yeltsin's opposition and his "fall." A special role in this game was played by Serbian television, whose reports from Russia have not made it apparent for several months now whether it is supporting and "explaining" Yeltsin's policy or whether it is trying to carry out a sort of news sabotage in the middle of Russia (against a host that is "calmly watching" all of this).

Belgrade and Podgorica are particularly eagerly raising the question of the real possibilities for the Russians' return to the Balkans or a possible division of the Balkans (with the Western alliance (and they want an affirmative answer). It can thus be heard that they are even publicly regretting that they did not allow the Soviets, under the guise of repairs to Soviet ships in Boka Kotorska (at the Tivat and Bijela shipyards), to occupy that important strategic point in the Mediterranean. According to that explanation, there would not be any NATO bases at all in the Ionian Sea, at the entrance to the Adriatic Sea, and along the Albanian coast (let us not even mention Romania and Macedonia), and the "unification of all the Orthodox" would already have been carried out a long time ago. They even think that it would have prevented the war in Bosnia and any attempt by "Muslim fundamentalism" to penetrate the Balkans.

Whether that means that they are now prepared to "cede" the Montenegrin coast to the Russians is another question; there is virtually no possibility of deploying Russian ships, submarines, and other equipment there, since they would have to get past the entrance to the Adriatic, which the West has firmly in its hands.

In the opinion of the planners of the Russian "return," Bulgaria, Romania, and Macedonia have not yet been lost. The latter could be the key to this door, and they are of the opinion that it is still not too late, even though Gligorov did not want to listen to the advice by Russian Ambassador to Belgrade Gennadij Shikin (who abruptly traveled to Skopje on orders from his government) not to accept the American units, and rejected Milosevic's threats with the same aim.

This very week, more than 300 American Marines are to arrive in Macedonia. For the time being, Skopje is not interested in the American motives, and even less in Russia's wishes and the threats from Defense Minister Pavel Grashov that "he is not in favor of an expansion of the American presence in the Balkans." Macedonia, in fact, is living in fear of the appearance of a southern front and the disintegration of its territory, but only a strong ally can prevent it.

The relevance of the meeting among Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill at Yalta in 1945 and the emergence of a "north-south Orthodox axis" (Greece, Serbia, Russia) are also current topics in the American press. According to the U.S. explanations, an additional reason for that "awakening" is Russia's fear of the "Bosnian syndrome" on its own borders—in the republics of the former USSR.

The Belgrade-Podgorica duo thus also sees in this a change in Russian policy in favor of Serbia and Montenegro. To be sure, this is its last hope, since if it does not happen, no one can guarantee that exhausted, surrounded, and intimidated Serbia, as the daily TA NEA writes from friendly Athens, will not finally be subdued by Washington. It is also possible that Orthodox Greece is also playing that kind of (dual) intermediary role in policy toward Serbia (and the Balkans)....

Meksi Protests Mitsotakis Statement

AU1907164693 Tirana ATA in English 0842 GMT 19 Jul 93

["Statement of the Premier of the Republic of Albania, Aleksander Meksi Regarding the Latest Stands of the Greek Government Declared by Premier Mitsotakis"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 19 (ATA)—After analyzing the content of the statements made on July 14, 1993, by the premier of Greece, Mr. Mitsotakis, we state that:

Last week the Albanian Government, proceeding from the desire to have good relations with the neighbouring Greece, made concrete efforts to solve the problems through talks. But, in open counter reaction to this desire for dialogue and understanding, in his statements, Premier Mitsotakis unfolded the platform of a new orientation of the Greek Government in the policy towards our country. The main things to be mentioned are:

First, the unexpected officialism of the Northern Epirus ploy, until yesterday a policy of the most ultra nationalist circles of Greece as repeatedly admitted by the Greek Government itself.

Secondly, the abuse with the problems regarding the rights of the Greek minority in Albania under the baseless pretension that it is allegedly oppressed, although, until yesterday the Greek Government and Premier Mitsotakis himself had quite different considerations regarding the freedoms and rights of the Greek minority in the new democratic reality of Albania.

Thirdly, the intention and will to destabilize the south of the Balkans at any cost.

The Government of Albania issues its firm protest against the statements of the Greek Premier, which, regarding the Albanian-Greek relations, raise ethnic, religious, and border problems, similar to those raised in the former-Yugoslav regions in conflict.

Contrary to his previous stands, Premier Mitsotakis speaks of "Northern Epirus attached to Albania in 1913," thus, raising the positions of the Greek ultra nationalist circles to the level of the official policy. This new stand implies claims to the territory of Albania and is a striking blow to the stability in the south of the Balkans. We want to remind to the Greek premier that the year 1913 was the year of truncation of all the Albanian territories, that in the present Albania there is not an inch of foreign land and that it will allow no one to violate it, however little, in this direction. We warn that the repeated use of the term "Northern Epirus" in the statement of the Greek premier suits a strategy of global destabilisation in the region. The territorial claims laid by Greece only run counter to its bilateral commitments and also to the known principles of the CSCE and EC and the UN Charter. Also, we make known that the year 1913 which is deliberately mentioned in the statement of the Greek premier is the year in which the hordes of the Greek soldiers occupied the south of Albania.

We maintain that expansionist ambitions are very dangerous. Greece is among those countries that has experienced this not only in the first half of this century, but also in its latest decades. Someone in Greece might have even thought, alike his friends in Belgrade, to write and go down to history. But we forewarn that the dangerous ploy in the south of the Balkans will cost dearly to all. Lessons are drawn from history.

Trying to divert the attention of international community from the claims for the territories of southern Albania, the Premier Mitsotakis raises his voice for "suppression" of the rights of the Greek minority in Albania. Presently, the international community knows that the efforts for the integration of Albania in Europe, attaining of an European standard for the human rights and freedoms both for the Albanians and the minority people, has been and remains a permanent objective of the Albanian state. The constituent Law on the Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms adopted lately in Albania, Article 25, says that "Nobody may be discriminated because of sex, race, ethnos, language, religion," while Article 26 says that "Members of national minorities have the right to preserve and freely cultivate their ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic identity, to learn and be taught in their mother tongue, and to join organizations and associations in defence of their interests and identity."

The members of the Greek minority have their representatives in the Albanian Parliament, two deputies of the Party of the Human Rights Union, and 4 deputies, members of other parliamentary groups. They are ministers, members of the Court of Appeals, ambassadors, heads and functionaries of the local government with the same competences and tasks as their Albanian colleagues. The members of this minority have never had so many contacts and relations than today with Greece, where they can go freely. There is no other minority in the Balkans which won 49 thousand votes in fair elections and have such a powerful political representation. The Greek minority has schools in Greek in all the villages of the minority. Newspapers, books, and other publications and the radio programs in Greek have considerably increased. Also it enjoys full freedom of religion and in the future they will have more. Considering these facts we stress that the statements of July 14 made by Mr. Mitsotakis intentionally ignore this reality, and also provide misinformation.

On this occasion we recall that there are ethnic and religious minorities in Greece, which not only are not recognized officially, but are subject to intolerance and often to the arbitrariness of authorities. This is why different international bodies and organizations, international courts, nongovernment organizations have criticised Greece. The Albanian Government demands from

Greece to recognize officially the Albanian minority of Moslem and Orthodox Cams and the other Albanians and Arvanitas who have been living in Greece for centuries.

Based on international laws, it deems completely right the concern about the Albanians and the Albanian minority in Greece, just as it recognizes the right of the Greek Government to concern itself to the same extent about the Greek minority in Albania. We will meet the request of Mr. Mitsotakis to appear to the International Court of Justice with the desire to settle the problems between the two countries via dialogue. But in the event that the Greek party lacks good will, we, as a state determined to strictly observe all the agreements we have signed, are ready to appear to this court and demand the recognition of the right of the Cam population to return in their territories in Greece, the rights of the Albanian minority living in Greece, who does not dare admit its ethnic identity because of fear and terror, the claim on ownership of the Albanian [words indistinct] country and all the other legitimate rights.

The Albanian Government condemns the attitude of the Greek premier who conditions the solution of the problem of three million Albanians facing savage repression in their territories in former Yugoslavia on the solution of the problem of the Greek minority in our southern border. This absurd parallelism is intended first to bring Kosova out of historic, juridical, ethnic, geographic, demographic framework and place it is there, where he seems to have decided upon with his friends in Belgrade. In this way the Greek diplomacy tries to legalize the spillover of the conflict in the south of the Balkans in order to realise its chauvinistic ambitions.

Via this, it tries to realize its chauvinistic ambitions, to arouse hostility between the Greek minority and the Albanians living in understanding with one another in Albania.

The statement of the Greek premier, which expresses the concern of the Greek party for the alliances with Albania, is flagrant interference in the home affairs of Albania. Albania is a free country and will choose the allies to its liking. But the truth is that only one alliance, exactly that between Athens and Belgrade, poses danger to the Balkans presently. In the past this alliance aimed at fulfilling its goals through the problem of Macedonia, while today it reactivates the claims on Albania.

Also we hold that Mr. Mitsotakis commits a grave mistake when he provides himself with the attributions of the tutor of the Albanian Orthodox Church. The Albanian Orthodox Church is autocephalous and neither the Greek Church, the less so the Greek prime minister, have the right to interfere in its home affairs. The Albanian people are capable to run their own affairs even in religion and will let no one to poke his nose in such affairs. The Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is as free as the other religious communities in Albania. The Albanian Government declared once again that it will observe the status of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. It appreciates the performance of the Archbishop Anastas Janullatos to reorganize this church. It declared in public that in keeping with this status, his mission at the head of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is temporary.

Mr. Mitsotakis in his statement demands to return properties to the religious Orthodox community. On this occasion we declare that for a few months now, we have a law which regards all the subjects, the religious communities as well on equal footing. This law is based mainly on the possible return and compensation of properties and keeps with the European legislation standards. As for the ultimatum of Mr. Mitsotakis to return in Albania the Archimandrite Maidhonis, ousted for nonreligious activity, we think that this clearly shows how important this missionaries of Hellenism is to the Greek annexationist policy.

Mr. Maidhonis not only will not return back to Albania, but we also warn that any foreign national who will exploit Albanian hospitality to carry out splitting religious activity in our country will be treated the same way.

Regarding the aid that the Greek Government and people have given to Albania in this difficult period for it, we are grateful to them and have always valued both their direct aid and the support in the EC. The Albanian people entered the road of democracy in a state of great poverty. Since the beginning of this road, the democratic forces considered Greece as representative of the European Community in the Balkans and, with the sincere aspiration to unite with Europe, asked for and found its support.

In this respect, we are and will be grateful to Greece and all those who helped and are helping us in overcoming the grave consequences of the dictatorship, in the construction of the state of law and the market economy. But anyone who thinks that he may exploit the temporary poverty of the Albanians or their gratitude, to realise chauvinistic aims and to infringe the integrity of our country, makes a grave mistake. The objective to make use of the poverty of Albania and the aid offered to it to pawn its sovereignty has been openly and cynically expressed by the foreign minister of Greece when he declared that Albania is living at the mercy of Greece.

The Albanian Government has now officially declared its readiness to legalize the Albanian emigrants temporarily working in Greece and before the Greek premier made his statements, it tried to enter into bilateral negotiations in this regard. On the other hand, the return of the Greek minority people interned by the regime of Enver Hoxha to their villages of origin has never been a problem. Like all other nationals of our republic, they have all the rights envisaged by the new democratic laws regarding their transferring and property. We would like to recall here again that ethnic expulsions and cleansing

have been and are alien to Albanians. Albanians, Wallachians, Greeks, Macedonians, Hebrew people, and others have lived in Albania in tolerance and understanding. The practice of expulsions is an old practice of our neighbours applied during this century several times towards Albanians, Turks, Jewish, etc.

Describing the chauvinistic and annexational demands and claims of the Greek party as unacceptable, the Albanian Government adheres and will adhere to the principle of solving the disagreements created through direct and constructive dialogue. It holds that the climate of understanding and good neighbourliness is in the vital interest of the Albanian people and the Greek people. It thinks that the note that it has sent to the Greek Government is a good basis for discussion and overcoming the difficulties created in the relations between our two countries.

Standard Controls on Slovak Border Delayed

LD1907171293 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Standard border controls on the Czech-Slovak border will not be introduced on 20 July, said Beata Bernikova, deputy press spokeswoman of the Czech Interior Ministry. She added that taking into account the fact that Premier Vaclav Klaus reached an agreement with Premier Vladimir Meciar, it all depends now on when the government will make the decision and when it will be possible, from technical point of view, to begin to introduce, jointly with the Slovak side, standard border controls. A blueprint on organization and technical aspects of securing the Czech-Slovak border has been already presented to the government and for two weeks has been waiting there to be discussed.

In this context, government spokeswoman Klara Pospisilova told CTK that she did have any information about when the government would discuss this issue. [passage omitted]

Bomb Threats Close Prague City Center

AU1907181193 Prague CTK in English 1611 GMT 15 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 15 (CTK)—Police closed and evacuated Wenceslas Square and several buildings in downtown Prague at 3:00 PM.

According to an unofficial police source, the reason was an anonymous phone call announcing that explosives had been planted at several places in the area.

Krone, Dum Mody and other area department stores were evacuated. Mustek and Muzeum metro stations were closed by police and trains were not allowed to stop there.

At 12:38 PM an unknown man telephoned Prague Police saying that a bomb would explode at Wenceslas Square, announced the press spokesman for the Prague Police, Petr Link, today.

The male voice demanded that the police release the man who was placed into custody in connection with the Friday [9 July] murder of a 48-year-old woman in Petr Slezak Street in Prague, said Link.

At the same time, another anonymous call announced that a bomb had been planted in the Kotva department store, about one kilometre from Wenceslas Square. The two calls were not related, stated Link.

Two hundred policemen were involved in searching the named areas for bombs. None had been found by 4:30 PM, added Link.

A small detonation, which could be heard at 5:00 PM on Wenceslas Square, was caused by police bomb disposal experts, who detonated a suspicious can.

Luckily, it did not contain any explosives. If there had been any, the fuse would have caused a large explosion, Prague Police Spokesman Petr Link told journalists.

The can was found near a transparent round box which serves for humanitarian collections in the centre of Wenceslas Square open area.

The police detonation caused no visible damage.

Minister Seeks Limit on Foreign Media Ownership

AU2007075793 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jul 93 p 2

[CTK report: "Limiting the Share of Foreign Capital in Mass Media"]

[Text] In the opinion of Stanislav Belehradek, minister for economic competition, the Czech Government should as soon as possible define its position on the share of foreign capital in the ownership of Czech media, so as to preclude needless reactions in the press, among the public, and among politicians.

Addressing a news conference yesterday, Minister Belehradek said that, within the EC framework, Great Britain and Germany were the only countries that did not limit the entry of foreign capital into the information media.

In France, Italy, and Portugal, for example, the share of foreign capital in mass media is limited to 10-49 percent. Further restrictions concern the citizenship of the chief editor or publisher and, as far as shareholding companies are concerned, also voting rights, Belehradek said.

Dlouhy's Effective 'Buy Czech Goods' Appeal

AU1907175393 Prague CTK in English 1828 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 16 (CTK)—As much as 36.6 percent of the Czech population would certainly buy Czech goods on the basis of the appeal made by the Czech Minister of Industry and Trade, Vladimir Dlouhy.

This resulted from a poll made by the center for empirical research (STEM) in mid-June, in which 1,576 respondents aged over 18 participated.

Czech goods would be preferred by 40.7 percent of the population, while 17 percent would rather not buy them and 5.6 percent would certainly not buy Czech.

According to age, younger members of the population showed the least amount of willingness to buy Czech products (66 percent aged 18-29), while citizens aged from 30 to 59 were willing do so on the average (76-78 percent). The older generation is even predominantly oriented towards purchasing Czech goods (89 percent of citizens over the age of 60).

Eighty-one percent of respondents said that minister Dlouhy's personality had a favorable effect on the choice of Czech goods.

Lux: Some KDU-CSL Members Want To Leave Coalition

AU2007075993 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 16 Jul 93 p 1

["(sak)"-signed report: "Some Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party Members Want Out of the Coalition on Account of Restitution"]

[Text] Prague—If a satisfactory solution to the issue of returning Church property is not reached, there is a sizable group within the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] that favors withdrawing from the coalition. KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux confirmed this information yesterday for CESKY DENIK.

Mr. Lux replied negatively to a question from our correspondent on whether the anxiety that these forces will succeed within the KDU-CSL and the coalition will split can be justified. "I think that, in this sense, we have to find a solution within the coalition; we have to reach an agreement. Therefore, I am filled more with hope than anxiety," he said. Josef Lux assessed the rapprochement on restitution between the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Christian parties as follows: "The Alliance's stance has come close to a possible solution."

KDU-CSL press spokesman Jaroslav Orel confirmed what Josef Lux said and commented that, following the most recent steps taken by the Civic Democratic Party, ideas about withdrawing from the coalition are "arranged in various layers of intensity within each KDU-CSL member." "Certainly, there are people in the party who have placed reasons for remaining in the coalition in the first 10 spots on their scale of values; however, other people have simply arranged them differently," stressed Jaroslav Orel.

Klaus Rejects ODA Call for Coalition Meeting

AU2007071293 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 16 Jul 93 p 2

["(tk)"-signed report: "The Prime Minister Disagrees With the Civic Democratic Alliance's Proposal"]

[Text] Prague—The Civic Democratic Party chairman sees no immediate need for a meeting of the government coalition parties to coordinate foreign policy. Vaclav Klaus said yesterday that foreign policy is discussed enough in the cabinet where all the coalition parties are represented. The Civic Democratic Alliance came up with the idea of convening such a meeting several weeks ago. According to our information, however, there is tension within the coalition and between the prime minister and the foreign minister over this issue.

Klaus Responds To Union Criticism of Wage Regulations

AU1907181593 Prague CTK in English 1822 GMT 15 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 15 (CTK)—Both the Czech Government and Premier Vaclav Klaus personally recognise the unions' role in the democratic society and their importance for the country's stability, Klaus wrote today in response to a letter from Vladimir Petrus, chairman of the Bohemian-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions.

The Czech Government Office gave a copy of the letter to CTK.

Klaus reacted to a warning expressed by Petrus on June 13 that the unions' position as a party to negotiations on a bill on wage regulations and the old age premiums be respected.

I can understand that the government-approved directive on wage regulations does not please the unions, but I cannot accept that they are making it out to be a breach of agreements between unions and the government. The government's mandate to this step is being availed of because we see it to be justifiable and necessary for the country's further economic development, Klaus writes.

Wage regulations will not hit all the firms, but only those, whose managements, lured by short-term goals, are dissolving company capital and, in the end, undermining their employees' position, Klaus states in the letter, adding that to think that the step is a confrontational measure aimed against the unions is wrong.

Klaus ends the letter by expressing his conviction that the meeting of the Council for Economic and Social Peace will remove all misunderstanding and reveal that the unions' concern is fruitless and unjustified.

Industrial, Agricultural Prices Increasing

AU1907181793 Prague CTK in English 1847 GMT 15 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 15 (CTK)—Prices for industrial producers this June grew 0.2 percent from the month before and 9.3 percent compared to December 1992. Compared with prices in June of last year, there was a 12.8 percent increase.

In construction, according to estimates by the Czech Statistical Office (CSU), prices rose 0.3 percent last month compared to May, 15.2 percent compared to last December and 23.4 percent over prices in June 1992.

Prices for agriculture producers' prices, which make sense only to compare seasonally, showed a growth of 1.8 percent this June compared to the same period one year ago.

Meciar Views Possibility of Coalition Agreement

LD1907164693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Interview with Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, by unidentified correspondent on 19 July in Bratislava—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] The 21st session of the Slovak parliament continues in Bratislava today with the election of chairman of the Supreme Inspection Office and two deputy chairmen. [passage omitted]

Asked how he assesses, following today's talks of the deputy clubs, the possibility of a coalition agreement, Vladimir Meciar said:

[Meciar] We agreed today on mutual support of the candidates during the election to the Supreme Inspection Office and the National Bank of Slovakia. I assume that both proposals will have a positive outcome. It is the first practical test of what you are asking about, that is whether or not this agreement is possible and whether the procedure and the promise of both sides is binding for the clubs.

[Correspondent] Your agreement is, no doubt, conditioned by some kind of harmony as to the question of the economic program of the new government. To what extent, do you think you will agree with the Slovak National Party? Are the views the same? Where are the contradictions?

[Meciar] We are anticipating the circumstances; once the agreement is concluded we will announce the result, but we will not give any information about the method of talks. I am sorry.

[Correspondent] You said that you agreed on support regarding voting for the post of chairman of the Supreme Inspection Office and the post of deputy chairmen. Will that be in written form?

[Meciar] The shaking of hands of the chairmen before the two clubs and a word of honor that we gave each other were sufficient.

SNS: Talks 'Heading Toward Successful Conclusion'

AU2007075893 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 16 Jul 93 p 2

["ma"-signed report: "Not Only About Talks With the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—At the outset of yesterday's regular news conference of the Slovak National Party [SNS], Igor Uhrik introduced himself as first SNS deputy chairman, a post to which he was elected by the SNS Executive Council at its meeting in Dubnica on 10 July. He endorsed efforts to transform the party into a dynamic and modern political force free of nationalistic elements. According to Uhrik, this process of the SNS's transformation has been under way for two years now.

SNS Deputy Chairman Peter Sokol reported on the course of the SNS's coalition talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], which, as he said, are heading toward a successful conclusion. In the interest of overcoming the neuralgic point of these talks—the law on internal matters of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR]—the SNS has drafted a bill that addresses the problem of deputies' transfer to other political parties in the course of the electoral term in such a way that it allows these deputies to act as independent deputies only but does not allow them to represent a political party that did not won any parliamentary seats in the elections. [passage omitted]

Meciar: Czech-Slovak Border Checks 'Useless'

AU1907174093 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava, July 16 (CTK)—If we allow restrictions on foreigners today, we must reckon with tomorrow's restriction on our own people, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told Slovak Radio on the issue of Czech-Slovak border crossings.

He called border demarcation a primary task, but this measure (of border crossings) he considers useless and inadequate to the situation between the two nations.

The Slovak Government must proceed in the issue of the border with the Czech Republic from the documents which are officially available. Meciar said that the only available document was the draft agreement which had been compiled by the Czech Ministry of the Interior.

Term for Removal of EC Customs Barriers Shortened

LD1907114193 Prague CTK in English 1104 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava, July 19 (CTK)—Protocol on Slovakia's entrance into the trade portion of the association agreement of the former Czechoslovakia, as well as protocol on shortening the term to remove customs barriers were signed at the end of last week in Brussels.

This was announced by Petr Mihok, authorized representative of Slovakia in negotiations with the European Community (EC), to CTK today.

In certain cases, the length of customs barriers has been shortened from five years to three, he said. This concerns approximately 90 industrial products which are considered to be sensitive for Slovakia. In other instances, mainly for agricultural products, rates which originally were to be cut starting next year would already be decreased as of July 1.

He also said that beginning January 1, 1994, both republics would have individual export quotas. Up to now a unified quota had applied and its division had been the internal affair of the two countries.

Moravcik: Ethnic Hungarian Autonomy Not Realistic

LD2007075693 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0445 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] The area of minority problems is regarded as a very important question in the countries of Central Europe, and the Slovak Republic also has no objections to an analytical examination of the problem, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said on Monday night [19 July].

According to Moravcik, there are no areas in Slovakia that can be regarded as pure with regard to nationality [nemzetisegileg tiszta]; therefore, the autonomy claims of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia cannot be regarded as realistic.

The head of foreign affairs in Slovakia declared that it is in the interest of Slovakia to sign the agreement with Hungary concerning the arrangements for water supplies.

Ethnic Slovaks on 'Deteriorating' Situation

AU2007071093 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 16 Jul 93 p 4

[TA SR report: "Will They Appeal to the Council of Europe? Hungarian Slovaks Received by Ivan Gasparovic"]

[Text] Bratislava— Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, yesterday received a delegation of Slovaks living in Hungary associated with the Free Organization of Slovaks (SOS), an alternative organization to the Union of Slovaks in Hungary. They informed him about the complicated situation with the Slovak ethnic minority in Hungary, which is constantly deteriorating, in defiance of laws on minorities adopted in the Hungarian Republic. Financial subsidies for the activity of the organizations of ethnic minorities are insufficient and, according to SOS representatives, their amount depends on loyalty to the Hungarian Government. Citing shortage of money, the Hungarian Government has already stopped subsidizing the minorities' folklore ensembles, and the existence of the [Slovak-language] weekly LUDOVE NOVINY is also in jeopardy.

Members of the delegation expressed the view that there is great discontent among ethnic minorities in Hungary, in spite of the officially proclaimed support for minorities. The possibility was also discussed of appealing to the Council of Europe for it to consider the problems of ethnic minorities in Hungary. The Slovak parliament chairman promised to help Slovaks living in Hungary. Leo Danihels, chairman of the World Congress of Slovaks [SKS], is also said to be planning to visit the Hungarian Republic. He is interested in meeting representatives of Slovak organizations in Hungary, Romania, and Serbia and in discussing the possibility of them joining the SKS, on the understanding that the SKS would deal with the problems faced by Slovaks living in those countries.

Local Council Abolishes Curfew for Romanies

AU1907144993 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 16 Jul 93

[Text] Kosice/Spisske Podhradie, East Slovakia, July 16 (CTK) - The City Council of the Eastern Slovakian Town of Spisske Podhradie announced today that it was abolishing its regulation banning Romanies and other suspicious people from leaving their homes at night.

After a meeting today between representatives of the town, Parliament, Slovak Police and the Slovak Association of Romanies, Spisske Podhradie authorities said they respected parliament's stand according to which the ban ought to be abolished.

Slovak parliament deputy and member of the city council Peter Krupa told CTK that the town asked police to take effective measures to prevent growing crime in a statement adopted on the matter.

The Slovak police had pledged to take immediate steps to maintain peace and order in the town.

Representatives of the Slovak Romanies' Association have distanced themselves from Romanies who are disturbing the peace in the town. The City Council has pledged to cooperate with the Association and support all measures to improve coexistence among citizens.

Krupa said that the situation in the town remained tense. He voiced apprehension that violent action could be taken by some Romanies who perceived the outcome of today's talks as their victory.

The regulation adopted on July 1 had aroused a wave of protests from representatives of Romany organizations. The Slovak Prosecutor's Office had also lodged a complaint against it. The Slovak Parliament abolished the regulation on July 15, arguing that it contradicted the Slovak Constitution and the Charter of Basic Rights and Freedoms.

Bylinski Gives Reasons for Resignation

LD1907140293 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Janusz Bylinski told journalists at a news conference today that lack of agreement regarding agricultural policy on the part of Ms. Suchocka's adviser, Maria Stolsman, was the reason for his resignation last Friday [16 July] from the post of minister of agriculture and food economy.

Janusz Bylinski said that Maria Stolsman always questioned the level of minimum prices proposed by the Ministry and the Agricultural Market Agency [ARR]. The former minister stated that the ARR Chairman, Wlodzimierz Rembisz, was dismissed last week without his consultation as head of the ministry. Assessing this decision as a particularly harmful one in view of the on-going harvest, Bylinski added that the results of the review of the ARR made by the Council of Ministers' Office, which had been the main cause of Rembisz's dismissal, has so far not been sent either to the ministry nor the agency. The contents are known to him only from press reports.

Bylinski declared that he will run in the elections as a candidate of the Peasant Party, of which he is a member.

Walesa Warns Suchocka Against Unapproved Dismissals

LD1907152393 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Lech Walesa has sent a letter to Hanna Suchocka that reads: The period preceeding the elections needs to see a continuity in the work of all kinds of state offices. Bearing in mind the needs of the country, I expect that in the administration that is subordinate to you, Prime Minister, personnel changes will be halted. All dismissals and new nominations should be consulted with the president; otherwise, they may be seen by society as elements in a preelection political game.

Pact With Lithuania To Be Signed This Year

AU2007100293 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 19—A treaty between Lithuania and Poland is likely to be signed still this year, Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Vladislavas Domarkas said following the first round of negotiations between representatives of the Polish and Lithuanian Foreign Ministries in Warsaw today.

The sides managed to agree over half of the articles of the future treaty, Domarkas told reporters.

However, the controversial clauses pertaining to the past relations between the two countries have not been discussed.

"The discussion on some of the clauses has been put off until the second round of talks," Domarkas said, stressing that "the agreement must look into the future but is based on the past." He disclosed however, that the name of Gen. Zeligowski, was not mentioned in the controversial article included in the Lithuanian version of the treaty which would require the Polish side to denounce the "illegal occupation" by Poland in the interwar years of part of the Lithuanian territory.

Head of the Polish delegation, Deputy Foreign Minister Andrzej Ananicz, described the results of Monday's negotiations as "very positive". He stressed that the Polish side found the approach of the Lithuanian partners to be pragmatic.

Ananicz also stated that the stand of both sides on the most difficult issues was presented in accordance with the earlier known declarations. He recalled the statement by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka who declared on June 17 that Poland would firmly object to a clause on "Poland's invasion of Vilnius in 1920".

"In our opinion this matter should be commented in a different forum while the treaty should create foundations for our relations in the future," Ananicz said.

The Polish and Lithuanian deputy foreign ministers stressed that the sides reached agreement on the principles regulating the rights of national minorities. The sides want to base them on international law, on UN documents and standards of the CSCE, Ananicz said.

The sides announced that the second round of talks on the Polish-Lithuanian treaty will be held in Vilnius late in August.

During the break in the Monday negotiations the Lithuanian deputy foreign minister conferred with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. "Minister Skubiszewski understands well both the significance of the treaty for the two states and for Europe as well as the complex nature of work on the document", Domarkas commented after the meeting. "The treaty is being prepared for the future and we have to seek a diplomatic solution," he stated.

Melescanu Views Relations With Hungary

AU1907152093 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 14 Jul 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by MTI correspondent Denes Baracs in Bucharest; date not given: "Why Are Romanian-Hungarian Political Relations Unstable?"]

[Text] [Baracs] Mr. Melescanu! Romanian-Hungarian relations show promising developments in some areas, but political relations are unstable; an exchange of declarations again took place recently. What is your opinion on the bilateral relations in general?

[Melescanu] This instability is partly due to the peculiarity of these relations and partly due to their provisional character. You are now entering the period preceding the elections, and the political discourse is also very lively in our country right now. During such times, Romanian-Hungarian relations also become a domestic policy issue. However, I see a positive side, namely the efforts of both sides to integrate into the European institutions. Both countries' association with the EC and membership in the Council of Europe, which is now expected in our case, demonstrate this. Hungary's attitude regarding our acceptance into the Council of Europe will be an important test, and we will follow this with great attention. As we integrate we accept an increasing number of these organizations' regulations, and this makes the regulations valid in our two countries so we become closer to one other. For example, if Romania also becomes a member of the Council of Europe, protection of national minorities will have to be on a comparable level in both countries: We will have to fulfill the same norms and be subjected to the same control mechanisms; all this should have a positive effect on our bilateral relations. I myself think that it is necessary to make a political gesture, to have an opening, a dialogue in our bilateral relations. The two presidents and prime ministers should decide to meet and declare that we would advance together and call upon our ministers to see what can be done in each minister's area.

[Baracs] A Hungarian foreign minister last visited Bucharest in December 1989 and although the two sides were satisfied at the time, the Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman recently expressed reservations about Gyula Horn's visit in 1989 and called his proposals an interference in matters outside the scope of bilateral relations.

[Melescanu] One can argue about the formulation. We only wanted to reply to the declaration made by Mr. Herman, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman, a declaration that could be interpreted as a serious accusation, namely that Romania allegedly failed to fulfill one of its obligations. What happened? Mr. Horn, whom I have known for a long time and whom I highly respect, came here and told us what should be done in his opinion, but no agreement came of it. We do not have a protocol on that meeting in which, as our spokesman pointed out, the Romanian side kept an open mind, but this does not mean that we came to an agreement at that time.

[Baracs] In any case, the issues discussed at that meeting, namely the reopening of the Hungarian Consulate and the Bolyai University in Kolzsvar [Cluj], are still on the agenda.

[Melescanu] It is obvious that the Hungarian Consulate issue, for example, is important both for Hungarian public opinion and concretely for travelers, and I am convinced that this issue should also be examined and a solution found in the framework of a positive development. This does not depend on solving other issues, and we do not put conditions on this. However, in my opinion, a consulate should be open at a place and time that it can positively contribute to bilateral relations and not be a point of contention. I do not think that the opening of a Hungarian Consulate now would have such an effect: A Consulate affair after the Matyas-statue affair.

[Barcs] Hungarian public opinion also finds it difficult to accept the present situation on our borders.

[Melescanu] I also regard this as a rather serious problem and was therefore very surprised by your border customs' refusal to work together with us, a proposal that would have reduced the crossing time to half. At Bors, where we have a joint border crossing point, your customs officials separated from their Romanian partners. Believe me, we want a solution even more than you, because this is the biggest gate leading to Europe for us, and we are even more interested in accelerating the customs procedures. The main problem is to provide the necessary funds. In addition, border control is necessary; different people and goods are crossing our borders and you have also heard about the attempt to smuggle missiles from Moldova. It cannot be fair to blame us for all the difficulties. The Yugoslav crisis and the Turkish workers in Germany who come for their vacation have greatly increased the traffic. All this simply exceeds our capacity. The situation is even more awful at other border crossing points: A line of 15 kilometers is at a standstill at Galati. Reconstruction has already begun at Bors, and we will increase the transit capacity threefold, and we will also open two other border crossing points. If necessary, we will also take other measures. The effects will already be felt this summer.

[Baracs] Mr. Melescanu! To what extent does the lack of success in talks on the bilateral basic treaty affect other aspects of our bilateral relations?

[Melescanu] Speaking to MTI, I would say the following: The signing of such an agreement would have the positive effect of strengthening cooperation in all the areas. It would be absurd to think that we should freeze all relations until we sign the agreement. Life goes on, we are neighbors whether we like it or not, and we must solve some problems; however, I think that a real

opening in the Romanian-Hungarian relations is impossible without an agreement containing a clear formulation regarding our borders. You are well aware of how sensitive this issue is in Romania. This is not the individual viewpoint of the foreign minister. People voted and their representatives are sitting in the parliament; their views must be respected. Even if I think there is no concern in this respect, there is such concern, especially in Transylvania, something that one must take into consideration. However, this should not cause a problem, because Hungary has repeatedly declared that it has no territorial aspirations and does not want to revise the borders. However, the statement made in the course of the debate on the Hungarian-Ukrainian agreement, namely that this formula cannot be applied to Romania, struck us as an extremely negative message. This shows that the Hungarian side does not want to include a formulation attesting to the fact that it has no territorial demands into the agreement.

[Baracs] Does Romania intend to use the same border formulation with all its neighbors?

[Melescanu] Not at all, but we believe that a similar situation requires more or less similar formulations.

[Baracs] This situation is not quite the same. Ukraine is a new state....

[Melescanu] You know how it is. The actual situation is less important than how the situation is interpreted. In our view, it is unimportant whether we are talking about a new or an old country; the important thing is whether there is a territorial demand involved or not, and whether the partner in question is ready to confirm the fact that it has no territorial demands in an agreement or not.

[Baracs] If Romania has its own political and psychological views, the same can be said of Hungary, namely that Hungary would like to see that the rights of the Hungarian national minority in Romania are guaranteed.

[Melescanu] The goal is to sign a good agreement. Both sides have to take into consideration that this agreement will have to be ratified by both parliaments. Obviously, it is important for both parliaments to find the minimum points they are adhering to in that agreement. In other words, the agreement should also contain the minority problem that concerns you. It is obvious that this agreement must create a balance of obligations.

[Baracs] My impression is that the problem derives from the fact that the Romanian Government regards the minority problem essentially as solved.

[Melescanu] Not at all. I have not heard any such position and I do not think that anyone could claim that the problem of national minorities in Romania has been completely solved. This would be an absurd claim. This is an ongoing process and I say that the situation of national minorities in Romania will improve along with the development of democracy in Romania.

[Baracs] In the framework of its acceptance procedures, the Council of Europe has formulated certain conditions regarding national minorities, and you answered them in a letter. What can be expected this summer before Romania's acceptance?

[Melescanu] The proposals of the officials of the Council of Europe included a general improvement in the plight of national minorities and certain specific situations, such as signing the Human Rights Agreement and the supplement protocol when joining the Council of Europe, accepting the 1201 decision of the parliamentary meeting of the Council of Europe regarding the protocol on national minority rights, and generally accepting future contributions to the activity of the Council of Europe aimed at improving the situation of national minorities.

[Baracs] Hungarian public opinion is concerned about the fact that criticism addressed to the representatives of the Hungarian minorities and at Hungary in general was one of the primary common themes at recent Slovak-Romanian meetings. Can bilateral relations be based on this?

[Melescanu] This is a very bad approach on your part. However, one could imagine that similar situations lead to similar reactions. The way we see it, Hungary is using the same system and the same scenario regarding the Hungarian national minorities in all the neighboring countries. Closed democratic associations function everywhere, groups that claim to be neither socialists nor communists or fascists; they are only a Hungarian association and they want autonomy.

If you are conducting a uniform and coordinated policy in this area by means of coordinating organizations created for this purpose, and one can meet representatives of these organizations everywhere, then it cannot be excluded that the neighboring countries themselves might also come to an agreement on this issue. However, there is no secret agreement here, or some kind of an alliance resembling past alliances as some people in Hungary fear.

[Baracs] Mr. Melescanu! You obviously know that every Hungarian parliamentary party pointed out that they do not want to give outside advice to the representative bodies of national minorities living in neighboring countries, but they support them in what they regard as necessary in preserving their language, culture, and identity.

[Melescanu] This is a very nice thing....

[Baracs] The old system of relations in Eastern-Central Europe has collapsed and, in many cases, European integration is taking place at the detriment of old relations. What is Romania doing to counter this?

[Melescanu] Our goal is to participate in several forms of subregional cooperation, to the extent possible, like the Central European Initiative, the Black-Sea economic

cooperation zone, and the (currently paralyzed) Balkan cooperation zone. We are seriously considering measures that would encourage the exchange of goods with neighboring countries, like free trade. I hope that, soon, we will be in a position to be able to also propose the signing of a bilateral free trade agreement with Hungary, along with several other countries.

[Baracs] The Yugoslav drama affects both countries. What cooperation possibilities do you see in solving this crisis?

[Melescanu] We would quickly want to hold consultations with Hungary, Bulgaria, and Ukraine on easing the procedures of the Danube shipping along with observing the embargo. We also think that, after the end of this serious conflict, the former Yugoslav republics will hardly be able to renew their former cooperation alone; therefore, also in the interest of security in Europe, a broader cooperation would be necessary here, also with the participation of neighboring countries such as Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Austria, or Italy.

[Baracs] In your view, what could be the next step?

[Melescanu] I would like to see the two presidents, Arpad Goncz and Ion Iliescu, shake hand on television, after informal talks of about two or three hours.

EC's Claes Views Romania, Others as Future Members

AU1907155893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1318 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/7/1993—Willy Claes, president of the Ministerial Council of the European Communities, told the ROMPRES correspondent to Brussels that among the priorities of the Belgian presidency of the EEC was the tightening of the relations with the associated East European countries. "According to the decisions made by the recently held council of the EEC in Copenhagen, Belgium is to take resolute action to this effect and is determined to sustain the process as much as this is possible. 'The six,' that is Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechia and Slovakia are from now on seen as future members of the Community and this attitude is of enormous importance."

Mr. Claes admitted that in Romania the process of political democratisation and economic reform started in more difficult conditions as compared to other post-totalitarian East European states and that therefore the course Romania had to race along was all the more difficult. He opined that Romania had made important progress since December 1989 and stated that the present presidency of the EEC was sincerely willing to do its utmost to help Romania consolidate the results it has already obtained and carry on in its effort towards democratisation and economic modernisation.

On the other hand, the Belgian foreign minister said that one of his plans included a visit to Bucharest and that there were no obstacles against the conclusion of a political declaration between the Belgian Kingdom and Romania, which is practically a treaty of cooperation and friendship the purpose of which is to define the new type of relationships already instated between the two countries. If negotiations on the treaty are fruitful, the document, which equally meets Belgium's interests, will undoubtedly be signed very soon, Mr. Claes said.

Nastase: 'Blackmail Attempts' on Minority Issues

AU1907180193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/7/1993—The artificial, groundless discussions over an alleged lack of rights for the ethnic minorities in Romania represent a permanent political game and one should avoid falling in its trap, said Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, in an interview with the daily CRONICA ROMANA.

"I have stated many times that what is good for Europe in matters of minorities is good for Romania, too. The bad thing is that those who cherish revisionist ideas and cannot express their thoughts frankly are handling the issues of minorities as an alternative instrument in order to achieve the same goals. Therefrom, a manipulation of the international public opinion and the need experienced by those groups or political interests to present the situation in Romania as confusing and not meeting the international standards. We have been trying, and I believe we have succeeded to a large extent, to show that those allegations are not true. Many ministers of external affairs, heads of state and Parliament have been here and got in touch with national minorities in Romania other than the Hungarian one and have noticed that they enjoy all the rights stipulated by international agreements in point of cultural, religious identity and education in mother-tongue."

"My opinion is that we are witnessing a permanent political game but we must discriminate clearly between some leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) who share extremist views and the Hungarian population. We must be able to distinguish political schemes, when that is the case. On the other hand, I believe that we must devote much more attention to what is going on in Hungary where the nationalist pressure increases as the country draws nearer the general elections next year."

"Attempts of blackmail on the Romanian state are permanently being made. We must continue to be firm, civil and carefully avoid the traps which are being laid to us, doing our best to permanently plead that it is not advisable to create hotbeds of war. Because it is possible that what has happened in Yugoslavia was somehow induced by revisionist pressures, by attempts to impose patterns which have lately proved to be disastrous for Europe," Speaker Nastase said.

PSM Criticizes Cabinet, Threatens To 'Withdraw Support'

AU1907180393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1705 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/7/1993—The resolution of the Romanian Government by which traders are given free-hand to practice unlimited mark-up shows that the present executive has broken its electoral promises and veered to the right, Socialist Labour Party (PSM) vice-president and member of Parliament Tudor Mohora stated at the today's press conference (Monday, 19 July).

The ruling party forgot the leftist principles it pledged to run the country by, showing its "immorality." The price boom since 1 July has not been generated by the introduction of the value added tax, but by this government resolution which stimulates the accumulation of capital with a restricted number of individuals and leaves the rest to bear the severe consequences of a constantly dropping level of the living standard, Mr. Mohora said.

Tudor Mohora also ventured the opinion that "the government is led from outside," the resolution in question being inspired by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as clause to an international agreement that makes loans conditional, and that this added to the burden the present executive took over from the previous cabinets.

PSM intends to "seriously discuss with the government and the Social Democracy Party of Romania (PDSR) on these subjects and, should the government fail to take measures apt to stop the downfall of the living standard, we shall have to withdraw our support," the same PSM leader said.

PSM is also open to any alliances with leftist forces and admitted that after having negotiated with seven parties or so now they are handling the matter "very cautiously."

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 20 July

WA2007153293

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Muslim-Serb fighting reported on outskirts of Sarajevo ... Bosnian Presidency calls for cease-fire ... Serbs in Bosnia, Croatia prepare for unification ... Muslim member of the Bosnian Presidency denounces Bosnian President Izetbegovic ... Russian envoy expresses optimism after talks with Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian presidents ... EC to send peace mission to former Yugoslavia.

MILITARY

FIGHTING ON OUTSKIRTS OF SARAJEVO (Sarajevo Radio, Belgrade Radio): Sarajevo Radio claims Muslims "inflicting considerable losses" on Serbian forces in "fierce battles" on Mt. Igman, a Muslim-held suburb of Sarajevo. Belgrade Radio says Serbs "forced to launch a counterattack" on Mt. Igman after Muslim forces attack "Serbian defense lines" in Ilidza. (AU1907192993, AU1907152693)

BOSNIAN PRESIDENCY CALLS FOR CEASE-FIRE (Sarajevo Radio): Bosnian Presidency calls for cease-fire between Muslim and Croatian forces "immediately and unconditionally" and release of all detained troops. (LD1907212893)

POLITICAL

SERBS PREPARE FOR UNIFICATION (TANJUG): Krajina and Bosnian Serb leaders agree to form a "group of experts" to draw up a constitution and "other legal documents" in preparation for the unification of territory occupied by Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. (LD1907191993)

ABDIC DENOUNCES IZETBEGOVIC: TANJUG reports Bosnian Presidency member Abdic accused Bosnian President Izetbegovic of being responsible for the continuation of ethnic clashes in Bosnia. Abdic, in a letter to Izetbegovic, denounced the president for "raising false expectations" among Muslims that the international community would intervene militarily "in favor of the Muslims," blames him for "endangering the Muslims' physical existence." (LD1907133093)

DIPLOMATIC

CHURKIN OPTIMISTIC ABOUT TALKS (Belgrade TV, Belgrade Radio): Russian special envoy Churkin says results of talks with Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian presidents were "very satisfactory," expresses optimism that "progress can be made" at peace talks in Geneva. Citing an "increasing number of similar views" among the three sides, Churkin says he expects the Bosnian conflict "to start abating slowly" and military clashes to "end soon." (AU1907201093, AU1907141693)

EC TO SEND MISSION TO BALKANS (TANJUG): EC foreign ministers to send a mission to Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo in effort to end fighting. Belgian Foreign Minister Claes will head the mission. (LD1907212193)

Owen Stresses Need for Muslims To Negotiate

LD1907154193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1513 GMT 19 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Lord Owen on Monday said it was important to convince Bosnian Moslems to negotiate with Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic mini-states, as every day of delay brought new victims.

A civil, ethnic and religious war between local Moslems, Serbs (eastern Orthodox) and Croats (Catholic) has been raging in Bosnia-Herzegovina for 16 months because of the Moslem leadership's attempts to make Bosnia a unitary state in which the status of Christian peoples would be reduced to that of national minorities.

Bosnian Serbs and Croats had proposed at the Geneva talks that Bosnia-Herzegovina be organized as a confederation of three Ethnic mini-states (Moslem, Serb and Croat), but the Moslem side still refuses to negotiate on the proposal.

Lord Owen, before meeting EC foreign ministers in Brussels, said he hoped that the Moslem side would agree to discuss the Serb- Croatian proposal and that Moslems would join the Geneva talks this week, according to REUTER.

Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic said last weekend that his country may have to be divided on ethnic lines in the interest of peace.

Lord Owen said it was up to EC foreign ministers to decide whether it was time to apply pressure on Croatia over its role in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and added that the community had to bring its full weight to bear in bringing the war to an end soon.

About 50,000 troops of the Croatian Army, engaged in the Bosnian war since April 1992, helped Bosnian Croats to ethnically cleanse western Herzegovina, after which they imposed Croatian rule there and practically annexed the region.

Presidency Calls For Muslim, Croat Cease-Fire

AU1907182593 Paris AFP in English 1813 GMT 19 July 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 19 (AFP)—The collective presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina called Monday for a complete halt to fighting in the centre and south of the former Yugoslav republic between Moslems and Croats and called on the U.N. Protection Force to help.

Presidency members meeting in Sarajevo called for the ceasefire to be "immediate and unconditional," and proposed the release of prisoners and permission for tens of thousands of displaced civilians to return home, Sarajevo television reported.

The call came as both Bosnian Army and Croat sources reported fighting raging on a number of fronts, and as a strategic mountain overlooking Sarajevo was under fierce attack by Serb forces.

Requests Aid in Implementing Cease-Fire

LD1907212893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Aware of the difficult situation in Herzegovina and central Bosnia, and determined to put an end to the tragic and senseless conflicts between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina at today's session reached the following decision:

1. Units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO are called upon immediately and unconditionally to cease all hostilities and commence releasing all troops and civilians without delay.

2. All displaced persons and refugees are called upon to return to their homes, while civilian and military authorities are requested to provide all necessary aid.

3. The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the Red Cross are requested to help in the realization of this decision.

Expresses Reservations on New Talks

LD1907210393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today reviewed an initiative launched by Owen and Stoltenberg, the cochairmen of the international peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, on the holding of a new round of talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Despite the confirmed readiness to respond to every peace initiative, doubts were expressed at the session about the usefulness of such talks if the offensive operations of the aggressor's army do not cease before the talks are held; that is, if the aggressor goes on using water, electricity, and gas as a means for waging war which additionally, and contrary to all laws on warfare, endangers the lives of the civilian population. This also violates the Geneva Convention on law during wartime.

The Presidency also adopted the stands to be advocated by the state delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These, together with the membership of the delegation, will be announced at a later date. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency is of the opinion that the Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation cannot include anyone who is not ready to support the official stands of our state.

Izetbegovic or Ganic Expected To Go to Geneva

AU1907205193 Paris AFP in English 2035 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, July 19 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs hammered from three directions Monday at a strategic mountain overlooking Sarajevo as heavy fighting continued in central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina ahead of proposed new peace talks.

Seven members of the 10-strong Bosnian presidency met in Sarajevo for the fourth straight day and issued a call for an "immediate and unconditional" halt to fighting between troops of the mainly Moslem Bosnian army and Croat forces, many of them backed by Serb artillery gunners, in central and southern Bosnia.

The presidency also called for release of prisoners and permission for tens of thousands of displaced refugees to return home, with aid from the U.N. Protection Force and the international Red Cross.

It made no decision on attending talks due to resume in Geneva on Wednesday on carving up this former Yugoslav republic.

Sources close to the presidency say they expect most of its members to attend, but that either President Alija Izetbegovic or Vice-President Ejup Ganic would probably remain in the capital to deal with emergencies.

The battle for Mount Igman, which towers over Sarajevo airport, continued unabated, with the sound of gunfire audible in the city centre and airport sources saying they could see the flash of the gunfire.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Peter Kessler warned that more than 30,000 mainly Moslem residents and refugees at the foot of the mountain might try to cross the airport if the fighting came close to them.

If their settlements fell, he said, "we would expect they would rush across the runway," which is exposed to Serb sniper fire.

Kessler described that prospect as potentially "tragic," and added that there was no room for that number of refugees in a crumbling city which has been under siege for 15 months, living on insufficient relief food, without electricity or gas and with little running water.

The French Foreign Legion, which guards the airport, turns back all those it catches trying to cross. [passage omitted]

U.N. aid workers reported that a convoy failed for the eighth straight day to reach the eastern enclave of Gorazde, where Sarajevo radio reported Serb shelling of the town, designated a "safe area" by the U.N. Security Council.

Relief workers said two of five mentally handicapped babies discovered among 230 patients in an abandoned psychiatric hospital in the central Bosnian town of Fojnica had died of dehydration and malnutrition.

A Canadian patrol discovered the hospital Sunday. Relief workers said the patients, all severely handicapped, had been left there for at least three days, some of them locked in their rooms.

Serb Assembly Votes Formal End to B-H Republic

LD2007114593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Mrkonjic Grad, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—At its 33d session held in Mrkonjic Grad today, the People's Assembly of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] declared null and void the decision made in this town by the ZAVNOBIH [World War II government of Bosnia-Herzegovina] on 26 November 1943 that proclaimed the federal unit of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Explaining the nullification act, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the people's assembly of the Serbian republic, stressed that the former Bosnia-Herzegovina had collapsed and that the Serbian people in this area had already created their own state. "By making our decision, the former republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has ceased to formally exist," he concluded.

At the same time, at the suggestion of Serbian republic vice president Biljana Plavsic, an initiative was launched "to the effect that all of AVNOJ's [World War II government of Yugoslavia] decisions damaging the Serbian people be declared null and void at the pan-Serbian level."

Karadzic: Serb-Croat Relations Improving Daily

LD2007110293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0929 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Doboj, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—President of the Serb republic [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Radovan Karadzic told Serb Radio Doboj that "there have been powerful moves in relations between the Serbs and Croats" and that relations have been "improving daily throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"It is well-known that we helped approximately 10,000 Croat civilians to escape being massacred by Muslims. The situation is improving and the Serb Krajina-Croatia agreement on Maslenica bridge is very important. This can be considered a watershed event after which the Serbian-Croatian relations and problems are going to be resolved politically," Karadzic said, adding that what Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman signed and agreed to "is of great importance."

"It is clear that the Serb republic will exist despite all its enemies," Karadzic said. "The Serbs and the Croats are now in favour of a confederation and if the Muslims do not wish to lose everything they have to sit at the negotiating table as soon as possible."

The West's attitude toward the Serbs, according to Karadzic, "is considerably changing, particularly toward the Bosnian Serbs, as they call us over there, although they have started calling us the Serb republic without quotes, or the so-called republic."

He said that mojahedin from Iran would not come to help [Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President] Alija Izetbegovic, "particularly in the light of the fact that the U.S. Congress discussed mojehehin, i.e., the influence of Iran on Bosnia and Europe."

"The United States is very sensitive when it comes to mojahedin and terrorism and I believe that this discussion in the U.S. Congress sealed the fate of the mojahedin here. I think that even the local Muslims will have difficulty in shaking off this label now. The worst catastrophe for the Muslims is the alliance with Iran by which Izetbegovic ruined his own people. Everywhere in the world Iran is viewed as a country of Islamic fundamentalism and unrelenting terrorism."

'New Stage' Approaching

LD1907210293 Belgrade TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Knin, July 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (RS) Radovan Karadzic assessed Monday in Knin that the signing of the agreement between the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and Croatia could be an introduction to a new stage in Serb-Croatian relations, because the Serb side had demonstrated readiness for good-neighborly relations, providing just delimitation was made.

Following the agreement, Serb-Croatian relations could enter a new (improved) stage, in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as between the RSK and Croatia, Karadzic told domestic and foreign journalists prior to the talks on further steps in linking of the RS and the RSK.

The RSK and the RS delegations were headed by the presidents, Goran Hadzic and Radovan Karadzic, respectively.

The agreement which Croatia signed Friday, and the RSK a day earlier, envisages withdrawal of Croatia's Army from the occupied parts of the RSK, in return for opening of the Maslenica bridge (July 18) and Zemunik airport near the city of Zadar. The Croatian Army occupied in an aggression on the south of the RSK on January 22 the bridge and the airport, as well as the Peruca Dam and a number of Serb villages.

The RSK was formed two years ago in the parts of Croatia predominantly populated by Serbs and is a UN-protected area (UNPA). The RS was formed in those areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina in which Serbs make up the majority population.

Speaking about the statement of Muslim Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic that he would not go for talks in Geneva as long as Bosnian Serbs halted offensive activities against his army, Karadzic pointed out that these talks cannot have preconditions. "On the very day that Mr. Izetbegovic signs peace and the agreement on confederation (of three ethnic republics in Bosnia-Herzegovina), there will be no Serb activities. The short-lived ceasefires, so as to consolidate his forces, have no sense," said Karadzic.

Serb-Croat Prisoner Exchange Completed

LD1907192493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Banja Luka, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The exchange of civilian and military prisoners between the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna was successfuly completed when 300 Serb civilians from Livno crossed to the territory of the Serb Republic near the village of Celebici today, Banja Luka television reported this evening.

According to the same source, representatives of both sides said that they do not hold any more prisoners and that in the future all Serbs and Croats who wish will have free passage between Celebici on the Serb side and Kovacici on the Croat side. [passage omitted]

Army Commander Supports Izetbegovic

93P50239A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 15 Jul 93 p 8

[Report by As'ad Taha]

[Text] Sarajevo—Rasim Delic, the commander in chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, has asserted in his first interview with an Arab newspaper his complete support for President Alija Izetbegovic and his policy aimed at finding a way out of the Bosnian crisis "through multilateral discussion." He said to AL-HAYAH at his headquarters in Sarajevo that "attempts to divide Bosnia have been continual and zealous for 15 months. We believe that it is not possible to divide our country because that simply means the continuation of the war without end." He went on to say, our people are striving for freedom and peace, and want this peace to be just and provide opportunities for a decent human life. However, the new plan does not contain such a thing. He indicated that "our position is to support the policy of the Presidential Council and Izetbegovic's policy."

About the extent to which the Bosnian Army is prepared to continue the war, he said, "When the war first broke out, we had no chance to form our military units and go to war with them, although we would have been able to do that if at any time our friends had sent sufficient humanitarian aid and oral support. We are now forced to continue the war until we secure a just peace. We have no other choice—war or destruction."

The Bosnian commander explained that the Army has recently been able to obtain large amounts of arms as spoils during the battles that it fought, "so much so that

we were able to form new units. This has been a positive influence in reordering our ranks, in spite of our great need for heavy weapons."

He indicated that the Bosnian units were "sometimes fighting battles to obtain arms and not to liberate territory." He added, "We have the capability to manufacture some light weapons and ammunition in small quantities, but the sanctions imposed on manufacturing materials and the lack of raw materials prevent an increase in production."

AL-HAYAH asked him about the presence of special units in Sarajevo not under the Army's control that clashed with the police a week ago, and about whether Sarajevo was threatened with the fate of Beirut in the days of the civil war. He stated that the units were few in number and limited in capability and that they resorted to force to express their anger over the imprisonment of one of their elements. [He added,] "We decided not to use weapons against them lest we spill our blood with our own hands, and we are now striving to get them to join us."

The Bosnian commander opined in his interview with AL-HAYAH that the international forces had failed in the mission that they had come to carry out, whether it was to implement the UN resolutions or to provide security for the arrival of relief convoys.

Abdic Claims Izetbegovic Continuing Ethnic War

LD1907133093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 19 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—Fikret Abdic, a moderate Moslem politician from Bosnia-Herzegovina, accused Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic of being directly responsible for continuation of the ethnic war in the former Yugoslav republic thus endangering Moslems' physical existence.

In an open letter to Izetbegovic, made public only by the local radio station in Velika Kladusa, a town in the western Bosnia-Herzegovina and Abdic's constituency, Fikret Abdic, who is a member of top Moslem leadership, accused the Bosnian Moslem leader of raising false expectations for the world's military intervention in favour of Moslems, with support of the media which he strictly controlled.

Abdic invited Izetbegovic to continue the negotiating process in order to end the blood-shedding ethnic war between local Serbs, Croats and Moslems, which has been going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina for sixteen months now, saying explicitely that Izetbegovic bears the greatest responsibility for the Golgotha of Moslem people.

Citing the daily GLAS SRPSKI from Banja Luka, a town in western Bosnia-Herzegovina, the entire Belgrade press carried Abdic's open letter to Izetbegovic.

Abdic also accused Izetbegovic of exciting false hopes among Moslems for the solutions the world planned for Bosnia-Herzegovina, with support of his like-minded collaborators Ejup Ganic and Haris Silajdzic and using strictly controlled media.

"Totally uncritically and with no sense of reality you have raised false hopes among the people who, without electricity and sitting in the dark, used their last transistor-radio batteries to listen to the controlled media which were euphorically announcing military intervention and lifting of the arms-embargo in favour of Moslems," said Abdic in his open letter to Izetbegovic.

Pointing out that it was the last moment for Moslem delegates in the Geneva negotiations on former Yugoslavia to get together for the sake of Moslem people's interests, Abdic said to Izetbegovic that no individuals or negotiating teams could suspend the people's will because it was the people who would eventually decide on future organisation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This letter has been so far the sharpest criticism of Alija Izetbegovic's policy and is typical of the relations which already for several months have existed between the Moslem political leaders in Sarajevo and the moderate Moslem politicians headed by Fikret Abdic, says Belgrade daily POLITIKA citing the letter.

Abdic's Supporters Clash With Army

AU1907143793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] According to reports that we have received, supporters of Fikret Abdic late last night clashed with members of the Fifth Corps of the Muslim Army, which is still loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, at the access point to Bihac from the direction of Cazin.

UNPROFOR Protests No-Fly Zone Violations

LD1907175093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) have protested to the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Moslem Army because they used the Dubrave airfield near Tuzla, the Moslem enclave in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina for helicopter flights.

The Moslem-controlled Sarajevo radio on Monday quoted UNPROFOR spokesman as saying that this had led to the Serbs' shelling of the airfield.

U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali told U.N. Security Council last week that Bosnian Moslem helicopters violated the no- fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina eight times and Croatian helicopters once in only two days—July 5-7. Butrus-Ghali in his report said that Moslem helicopters in most of the cases took off from the Dubrave airfield.

Bosnian Serb army said last Wednesday that on the previous day three planes, believed to belong to Moslem forces, took off from Dubrave and bombed Serb positions near Olovo, central Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Reports Army Sniper Wounded French Officer

AU2007132093 Paris AFP in English 1257 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 20 (AFP)—A Bosnian Army sniper wounded a French officer Monday [19 July] in the arm and body as he was driving back into central Sarajevo from a utility repair mission, the U.N. Protection Force reported Tuesday [20 July].

Spokesman Luuk Niessen said the officer and his interpreter were able between them to drive their jeep on to the nearby U.N. troops' headquarters at the former post and telegraph building, which includes a basement hospital.

Major Niessen said the officer was treated there, and that his condition was not serious.

The spokesman was unable to supply the officer's name or rank.

The firing came from a position held by troops of the mainly Moslem government army, Niessen said.

TANJUG Reports Quelled Fighting Around Mostar

LD1907141893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1349 GMT 19 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Trebinje, July 19 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban and UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina General Francois Briquemont met together on Monday in Medjugorje, western Herzegovina, to review a possible resolution of the Bosnian Moslem-Croat conflict.

Croatian Radio reported that due to this meeting, Moslem-Croat fighting around Mostar in central Herzegovina appreciably subsided on Monday.

Bosnian Moslems and Croats, formerly allied in fighting Bosnian Serbs, have been fighting each other since the beginning of this year over territories with mixed Moslem-Croat population.

In Mostar on the night between Sunday and Monday, fierce infantry combat took place along the demarcation line of the Moslem and Croat sides.

The Moslem-controlled TV-Radio Sarajevo said on Monday that Bosnian Croat Forces on Sunday took prisoner seven newsmen of this network in fighting in central Herzegovina and at the central Bosnian town of Zepce. The network, however, failed to give the names of the journalists it said were captured.

Sarajevo Radio Reports 'Horrific Aggression'

LD1907214193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpts] The Muslim people of Herzegovina are experiencing the most difficult moments since the beginning of the war. After Prozor, Konjic, Jablanica, and Mostar, a horrific aggression against the people living to the south of Mostar in the area of Gubavica, Osolija, Pijesci, the Dubrave plateau, and further toward Stolac and Capljina has been taking place in the last few days.

In the last two months a number of men have been taken prisoner, and are now in the ustashe prisons in Capljina, Ljubuski, Grude and other locations of western Herzegovina.

The Croat Defense Council soldiers have launched a heavy offensive in the last few days, setting alight and destroying everything before them. Whole families have been killed and thrown into pits. That was the fate of the Obradovic family, whose 20 members were killed, including one year-old twins and children of five and eight. [passage omitted]

Refugees with accounts of ustashe crimes are constantly pouring into Blagaj, near Mostar. We have learned from Rasim Efendic, in charge of civilian affairs in Blagaj, that several hundred men, women, and children have arrived in Blagaj, fleeing from the evil launched from Croatia and western Herzegovina. The first accounts are terrible. Most people are being taken to concentration camps, and those who have managed to escape are hiding in the woods.

Between 2,000 and 3,000 people were expelled yesterday from the area of Bijelo Brdo in the suburb of Lokve. [passage omitted]

Around 16,000 people have taken refuge in the area of the Dubrave plateau. They are desperately calling for help and appealing to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, the world public, and all humanitarian organizations to help the people on the Dubrave plateau as soon as possible.

Heavy Muslim, Croat Fighting Reported in Bugojno

LD1907161093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpt] The attacks launched this morning by Muslim units on Croatian Defense Force-held [HVO] buildings in Bugojno have continued with undiminished intensity. According to initial reports, many people have been killed on both sides in street clashes in which all types of infantry and heavy weapons are being used. The situation is most difficult in the town center where numerously superior Muslim forces are looting and setting Croat houses and apartments on fire and arresting civilians. Despite the intensity of the attacks, HVO soldiers are holding their ground in Bugojno. [passage omitted]

Many Casualties Reported

LD2007123393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes in Mostar]

[Excerpts] Infantry fire in Mostar is somewhat more intense this morning, but there are no clashes. [passage omitted]

Extremely heavy incessant fighting in Bugojno is entering its second day. The town seems to shake continuously from powerful explosions fired from all types of weapons. Several facilities, including the town post office, were burned down in fighting last night.

Military sources of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) have said that the Muslim army did not manage to seize roads in this area, i.e., to seal off Croatian villages surrounding Bugojno. There have been no reports on the number of casualties, but according to first estimates their number is quite high among both civilians and soldiers. Their precise number is impossible to establish, since it is almost impossible to approach the wounded and dead due to the ferocity of fighting.

Muslim forces seized the suburb of Gaj where they are plundering and setting Croatian houses ablaze.

Intense, sporadic clashes between the HVO and the Muslim army are in progress also in Gornji Vakuf.

The office for refugees of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna has provided accommodation in Capljina for 250 more refugees from Croatian villages in the municipality of Konjic.

Croats in Bosnia Vow To Regain Lost Territory

LD1907171893 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Report by Ankica Posavljak reporting from Radio Herceg-Bosna's mobile unit, Kiseljak studio]

[Text] We are able today to broadcast excerpts from an open letter sent to Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, by Ignac Kostroman, secretary general of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, and Colonel Dario Kordic, vice president of the Community.

This rather lengthy letter says, among other things: Following the all-out Muslim aggression, it has become perfectly clear that things can never be the same again. Whoever believes differently is wasting his time. The Croat-populated areas of central Bosnia are an inalienable part of a single entity known as the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna. With God's help, we will recapture the regions we have lost and link up with the southern parts of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna. Nobody will be able to sever these links ever again.

We Croats from these parts see the only just solution in the future set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina in a federal state based on a national, confederal principle. If this does not happen, the world can stop this war, but the process started will continue for some 20 years. That is why we favor a just and lasting solution for all, the Croats, the Serbs, and the Muslims, the open letter says.

Serbs Respond to Muslim Attack on Ilidza

AU1907152693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Text] It is relatively quiet today on most parts of the front in Sarajevo. However, Muslim forces launched a fierce attack on the Serbian defense lines in Ilidza. After a strong artillery attack, with dozens of shells being fired toward Ilidza from the direction of Kovac, Glavogodina, and Igman, and an attempt to breach the lines using infantry, the Serbian army was forced to launch a counterattack.

As the Information Center of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps reports, there is no information on the number of Serb casualties yet. Muslims snipers are again active today in Grbavica, Vrace, Vogosca, and Rajlovac.

'Considerable' Serb Losses Reported on Mt. Igman

AU1907192993

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 19 July reports continued fighting in the following areas:

The studio announcer says that "the extremists of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in the so-called Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna are constantly shelling the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on the Mostar front." The Mostar Press Center mentions overnight shelling of the eastern part of Mostar with incendiary ammunition, causing fires that were successfully extinguished and killing one civilian. It is reported that "the artillery of the so-called HVO and the Croatian Army" was also "intensely shelling" the southern suburbs of Mostar. "The fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army responded fiercely" to these attacks, the report adds.

A dispatch by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Bugojno reports that "the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army" and "Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry forces" in "a fierce attack across the entire commune" in "the early morning hours" captured "most of the (?HVO) strongholds" in the region. "Beside capturing a large part of the town" itself, Army units also took control of "nearly all of the northeast of the commune," the dispatch states. It is reported that some 30 Croatian fighters were taken prisoner today.

The Bosnia Operative Group of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports "considerably reduced combat activities" of "the united aggressor" on the Zavidovici front, which is ascribed to an EC observers team visiting the town today. The dispatch mentions small arms provocations in Dubravice and Rujnice.

Reporting from the First Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Edin Kukavica says that "fierce battles on Mt. Igman continue. According to information from the field today, our units formed a line of defense, consolidated its ranks, and are now inflicting considerable losses upon the aggressor in manpower and military hardware. In this way they are creating favorable conditions for a counterattack. The front lines of defense were exposed to artillery fire from the enemy at the front line as well as from their long- range artillery near the town the entire day. Despite this, the defense lines in all directions of the attack remain stable and are resisting attempts at combined artillery-infantry breakthroughs." As Kukavica says, "the Serbian offensive is expected to continue over the next few days." "The Sarajevo front has been relatively peaceful today, probably because the aggressor turned most of his large-caliber barrels toward Igman."

Muslims Continue To Repel Serbs

LD1907223093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpts] The situation at Mt. Igman is still very difficult and dramatic. Fierce fighting has been going on all day, on two frontlines, in which the forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are still managing to repel the attacks by the technically superior enemy and prevent them from advancing toward and capturing Igman.

The heaviest fighting again took place at Golo Brdo. It is evident from some reports that the aggressor has launched the attack with strong forces and great ambition. The operation is directly commanded by the criminals Ratko Mladic and Milan Gvero, and some other high-ranking officers. The [Serb] forces have been brought from all occupied parts of the country, from Zvornik, Foca, Bratunac, Bosanska Krajina, and Ilidza. [passage omitted]

The attack has been launched from two main directions. Around 30 tanks, armored personnel carriers, and other vehicles are carrying out the attack, and fire is being opened on Igman from heavy vehicles, multiple rocket launchers, and 120 mm mortars. Despite their technical superiority the chetniks have failed to advance from either direction. Such an advance would enable them to join forces, take Igman, and completely encircle Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Muslim Offensive 'Continuing Unabated'

LD2007120593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Bratunac, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—An extremely fierce, several-day-long offensive by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in the area of Mt. Igman is continuing unabated today. Serb positions are being attacked by all the artillery and infantry weapons at the enemy's disposal, TANJUG has learned from the general staff of the army of the Serb republic.

According to the same source, despite the fact that Muslim formations received sizeable reinforcements from central Bosnia over the past few days—both in manpower and combat equipment—they have not realized their main goal, which is to link the territory of Igman, Sarajevo, and Gorazde with the Drina River and further with Raska, i.e. the materialization of an Islamic fundamentalist concept to create a so-called green corridor in the Balkans. This would interrupt the existing territorial continuity of the Serb republic; a link between the Serb part of Herzegovina and the Romanija plateau and the left bank of the Drina River would be severed.

Serb republic army units, however, have not only foiled these intentions, but by applying active defense tactics, they seized the southwestern part of Mt. Igman in an irrepressible counterattack yesterday afternoon. The general staff said that this is the so-called interspace that is bordered by the mountains of Jahorina, Bjelasnica, Treskavica, and Igman, by which the Serb units' tactical position in that region has considerably improved. The village of Ljuta, situated at the foot of Mt. Treskavica toward Konjic, was liberated in this counterattack.

In September of last year, Muslim extremists slaughtered 18 Serbs in this village, while 12 Serbs—mainly women, children, and the elderly—were killed there at the beginning of this year. The Serb republic army general staff expressed fears that the number of victims is not final.

Aid Worker Calls Sarajevo 'Huge Concentration Camp'

AU2007083093 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2003 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Interview with Caritas employee Peter Quendler, coordinator of the "Neighbor in Need" relief action, by Robert Hochner; Peter Quendler is in Sarajevo, Hochner in the studio in Vienna—live]

[Text] [Hochner] Mr. Quendler, TIME magazine today described Sarajevo as a dying city. How dramatic is the situation for the city and its citizens really?

[Quendler] It is terrifying to walk through the city and to see the people fighting for survival. Everybody seems to be looking for water; one meets entire lines of people. The scenes are terrifying. Some people seem to have given up, the children are pale, and there is hardly any food around. One gets the impression of being in a huge

concentration camp, which one can neither enter nor leave, and where the emergency relief is not enough to survive. There is a shortage of practically everything.

[Hochner] Mr. Quendler, there have been reports in the past few days of new Serbian offensives against Sarajevo. What is the military situation like? Is it quiet, or is there fighting on the outskirts of Sarajevo?

[Quendler] At the moment there are fights between Grbavica and Mt. Igman. The Serbs are trying to conquer the last piece to complete their ring around the city, because then even the transit route to Gradacac would be severed.

[Hochner] Mr. Quendler, you have described the situation of the people in Sarajevo, and you have said that there is hardly anything to eat. Is there not enough help from Europe, or does the relief aid simply not get through to Sarajevo?

[Quendler] At the moment, only 30 percent of what is needed reaches Sarajevo through the airlift. The land route has been cut in central Bosnia. The fighting between Muslims and Croats makes it impossible to take the relief aid there. Nevertheless, there is a glimmer of hope. In our capacity as Caritas and "Neighbor in Need" representatives, we talked with the Muslims on Friday, and we have been promised that, in the area they control, we will be granted protection and free passage. This promise has been confirmed today by the deputy foreign minister. Now we still need the promise of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], which we hope to attain by Friday. Then we will start a convoy for Sarajevo together with Merhamet.

[Hochner] As a Caritas staffer, you are probably familiar with such human disasters and tragedies of the kind the world is witnessing in Sarajevo. How much longer can the people of Sarajevo survive that tragedy of almost inconceivable extent?

[Quendler] The real tragedy will come with the beginning of winter. For the time being, people will manage to survive because they can still look for small things themselves. Water constitutes the main problem. It takes people many hours to get water. Another big problem is the food supply. The third problem is the outbreak of more and more diseases. There have been cases of typhoid. What more these people will have to endure—I cannot predict the disaster.

[Hochner] What is the psychological situation of these people like? This city has been beleaguered for more than 14 months. Can the people still cope with their fate at all?

[Quendler] Many people can no longer cope with their fate. We talked to the bishop yesterday. The suicide rate is very high. People simply kill themselves because they do now know how to survive.

[Hochner] A last question, Mr. Quendler: Provided that the overland route will be opened to Sarajevo, do Caritas and the United Nations have sufficient relief goods for sufficient supplies to the city, and not just Sarajevo but also the places in the conflict area in central Bosnia?

[Quendler] Some relief aid is stored in Split and we could bring it here immediately. Nevertheless, all in all, the voluntary humanitarian relief organizations will no longer manage by themselves. I would like to appeal to the community of states to provide us, the voluntary relief organizations—Caritas, Red Cross, Merhamet, Dobrotvor—with relief aid. We have built up an efficient distribution network and I can guarantee all donators in Austria that the relief reaches the people in need.

[Hochner] Thank you very much, Mr. Quendler.

[Quendler] Thank you.

RSK, Serb Republic Take Steps to Unification

LD1907191993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1811 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Knin, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The implementation of the desire of the people of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] for a common state, expressed at referenda and enshrined in declarations passed by their assemblies at their session in Prijedor, was the subject of a joint session of the governments of the RSK and the Serb republic today.

A statement issued after the several hour-long joint session says that a group of experts has been formed to draw up a draft constitution, other legal documents, and systemic laws.

A special working group has been formed for the preparation of a session of the constituent assembly.

The coordination of legislature in the areas of defense, internal affairs, finance, credit and monetary policies, information and others will be carried out by the two governments' individual ministries.

All these matters pertaining to unification should be wound up by the end of August this year, it has been unofficially learned.

The governments of the RSK and the Serb republic have concluded that the governments will be informing the public regularly on the course of the realization of all affairs concerning the link-up, that is, unification of the two republics, which was particularly emphasized by president of the Serb republic Dr. Radovan Karadzic.

The joint session of the two governments was presided over by the prime ministers of the Serb republic and the RSK, Dr. Vladimir Lukic and Djordje Bjegovic.

Government, Krajina Serbs To Meet in Vienna

LD1907163293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] Vienna, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Croatian Government and the Krajina Serbs will meet in Vienna on Tuesday [21 July] to discuss the Maslenica bridge, it was said in a UN statement in Vienna today.

The talks will probably last for a few days, but the exact schedule has not been defined, a UN spokesperson told TANJUG. The talks will focus on military and technical issues regarding the implementation of the signed cease-fire agreement whereby the Croatian Army should withdraw to the positions it was holding before 22 January. Safe functioning of the Maslenica bridge, which according to the Geneva agreement should be under UN control, will depend on this, a UN representative in Vienna said.

RSK Delegation Leaves for Talks

LD2007090793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0814 GMT 20 Jul 93

[Text] Knin, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—A military delegation of the republic of Serb Krajina left Knin for Vienna this morning where it is to have talks on a cease-fire with representatives of the Croatian Army. Talks will be held in the regional UN center under the auspices of the UN Protection Force.

Tudjman Hopes For 'Reason' Among Knin Serbs

LD1907185993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Excerpts] The Croatian president has expressed satisfaction that yesterday's reopening of the pontoon bridge and Zadar airport proceeded peacefully. [passage omitted]

[begin Tudjman recording] The day behind us is, without doubt, one of those days that will again raise the consciousness of the Croatian nation, and all my policies are aimed at finding ways to establish full sovereignty over each square inch of Croatian soil with minimum casualties.

Many people accuse me of being too yielding, of negotiating, and so forth. It is important to me whether we will be able to go for a ride through Knin tomorrow and whether we will establish sovereign Croatian authority in all those unfortunate UN-protected zones by political means, with the least number of casualties, or through all-out war, which is being advocated by those who were far away from the war and who do not know what the enemy has at his disposal, who his allies are, and who our allies are. However, I came to the conclusion that these motives are such, and that such a host of events has taken place in connection with Maslenica bridge, that we have to proceed by assuming that reason will prevail among the Knin Serbs, and, if not, that the international community will show understanding for our response which will be more far-reaching than it was in January, when we took Maslenica bridge by military means in order to enable the construction of this pontoon bridge and the construction of a more permanent bridge. [end recording]

Krajina Serbs Say Rejection of Plan Will Lead to War

AU1907183393 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Jul 93 p 2

[Interview with Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign affairs spokesman for the Krajina Serbs, by Anna Friedrich; place and date not given: "We Will Attack Croatia If They Do Not Accept Our Peace Plan"]

[Text] Alarming rumors are coming about the renewal of the Serb-Croat war. What are the Serbs preparing for?

We asked Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the "Krajina republic" as declared by the Serbs in Croatia.

[Jarcevic] We met with Mr. Gert Ahrens and Mr. Kurt Wahlenberg, the deputy cochairmen of the Yugoslav conference, in Erdod on 15 July. We made concessions to the Croatian side and we took into consideration the demands submitted by the Croatian delegation in New York and Geneva. We proposed a cease-fire agreement. The construction of the Maslenica bridge, an important bridge for the Croats, would commence after the signing of such an agreement. Our demand is that the Croatian forces withdraw from the area of Rava, Kotor, and Maslenica, as well as from Miljevac and the region of the hydroelectric power station in Peruca. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] troops would be deployed here temporarily, while at the same time Serbian police would be stationed in Serbian villages, and the Croatians would depart by 31 July. We would jointly use the strategically important region of Maslenica, Zemunik, and the airport there, and controls would be carried out by UNPROFOR. According to our proposals, after signing the agreements, the Croats could immediately proceed with setting up a pontoon bridge at Maslenica. After this, we would discuss all the problems of Croatia and Krajina.

[Friedrich] What were your concessions?

[Jarcevic] Earlier, we did not agree to UNPROFOR police taking control in Serbian territories. We have made concessions now to avoid the war declared by Croatia and to halt the destruction started by both sides.

[Friedrich] According to our information, you attacked Croatia on 15 July. You bombarded Eszek [Osijek] and Karolyvaros [Karlovac] with artillery, and Fiume with missiles. What does this mean?

[Jarcevic] The Croats attacked us: They blew up a railroad car at Glina on 14 July, and five passengers died. They also killed two soldiers and a woman in Benkovac on 15 July. After this, we did indeed shell the outskirts of Karlovac, but not residential areas, but areas where we noticed troop movement. We openly said in Erdod that, in the future, we would discard defensive tactics and we would not fight in places where the Croats want us to fight, but on all fronts. They attacked us on the morning of 16 July, as well: They shelled Korenica with long-range guns. We did not shell Fiume or Zagreb, and, according to my information, we did not shell Osijek either. However, if they reject our peace plan, we will attack Croatia's important points.

Krajina Serbs Describe Maslenica Ceremony as 'Farce'

AU1907155493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] A joint session of the governments of the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] is being held behind closed doors in the ancient castle in Knin. The session is being attended by Radovan Karadzic, Goran Hadzic, Mile Paspalj, and Momcilo Krajisnik.

As the republic of Serbian Krajina news agency ISKRA reported, Radovan Karadzic will address the residents of Knin later tonight. According to the information of the press center of the headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina, the Croatian Army carried out only minor artillery and infantry activities yesterday. Last night and this morning were quiet. The airspace of the republic of Serbian Krajina was violated 11 times.

According to the same source, members of the Serbian army respected the realization of the agreement on Maslenica and Zemunik airport in a disciplined manner, like soldiers. As regards the events that took place in this region yesterday, the state committee for relations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] of the republic of Serbian Krajina issued a communique which stated that negotiations on the withdrawal of the Croatian Army will continue tomorrow. The communique, signed by Dusan Carevic, states among other things that after the farce on Sunday 18 July at the opening of the Maslenica bridge, which does not lead anywhere, and the airport which no one uses, Franjo Tudjman has embarked on a very difficult (?path). There are only 12 days for the complete withdrawal of the Croatian Army and police from all occupied territories. After all, this is not only in the spirit of the signed document, but also of UN Security Council Resolution 802 Point 1. This marks the beginning of the actual demarcation of the two states, the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia. This was stated in the communique issued by the state committee for relations with UNPROFOR of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Krajina Serbs Demand Withdrawal of Croatian Army

AU2007084193 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 20 Jul 93 p 8

[Oliber Vojovic report: "Krajina Serbs: Never Again To Live in Croatia"]

[Text] Knin—"We are for a peaceful solution to the problem, but the Croatian Army must withdraw from our territory, because as long as this is not done, we will be at war with Croatia." In an interview with DIE PRESSE, Slobodan Jarcevic, one of the most important politicians of the Krajina Serbs, commented on the relationship between the government in Zagreb and the Serbs in Krajina.

"Every time the Croatian side were to try to attack our territory, we would consider this as an intensification of aggression against us." According to Jarcevic, the Croatian soldiers "must withdraw" from all territories, which they conquered after the military campaign last

January. These are the strategic Maslenica bridge, which links the northwest of the Croatian coast with the southeast; the area at the "Perucac" dam; and a few smaller areas south of Knin.

"Only afterwards are we willing to discuss the wishes of the government in Zagreb, regardless of whether they refer to a joint reconstruction of the Maslenica Bridge or of the railroad lines through Slavonia and Krajina. Croatia acts as if the 'Republika Srpska Krajina' [republic of Serb Krajina] did not exist and tries to treat everything like a small uprising within Croatia, which is to be prevented with the world's support.

"However, facts speak against that. Already, in 1991, Europe offered the same principles for the entire former Yugoslavia. Thus, the recognition of a state is only an act of declaration, and, therefore, the Croatian Government cannot rely on Croatia's international recognition. At that time, it was also clearly stated that a unit becomes a state when three elements exist: territory, people, and independent state organs. And which of these does Krajina not have?"

According to Jarcevic, the fact that Krajina has not been recognized by any state in the world so far and actually does not exist as an independent state is "unimportant and no argument," because "we are not the first state in the world that has not been recognized for a shorter or longer period."

However, "even the United Nations has already recognized Krajina indirectly when it was punished with a resolution. After all, the UN Security Council can do something only against a state and not against some area. In Krajina there are half a million people, who quite certainly do not want to live in Croatia."

The fact that the Krajina Serbs are firing at the Croatian towns on the Adriatic coast was not denied by Jarcevic. However, in return, he accused Croatia of "concentrating its own army in these towns, while many of the hotels at the Adriatic are full of Croatian soldiers. For us these are no civilian targets but strategic military targets. We will immediately stop firing at these Croatian towns if the Croats no longer fire on our villages. Unfortunately, we have war and we must act in line with the principles of war, because our villages, in particular those near the towns of Benkovac and Obrovac, are attacked by the Croats every day. The Croatian attacks have driven the inhabitants out of Benkovac and Obrovac."

Asked how long the UN soldiers would have to stay in the former Yugoslavia, Jarcevic answers succinctly: "Until further notice; to be more precise, until Croatia signs a peace treaty." Jarcevic once again stressed that the Krajina Serbs would never be willing to live in Croatia.

"Our people will never again live in Croatia because, so far, we have been cheated by the Croatian state every time in history. The Croatian politicians have always had only one goal, which was already defined in the 19th century: eradicating the Serbs and then founding a Croatian state on their territory. I would like to recall the words of Ante Starcevic, the father of the Croatian state. He said at that time: 'One-third of the Serbs should be killed, one-third should accept the Catholic faith, and the rest of the Serbs should be driven out of Croatia.' Just over the past two years 300,000 Serbs had to leave Croatia. Their houses and everything they had—most of them very rich Serbs from the towns—are now used by the Croats. As an example of the ethnic cleansing in Croatia I would like to mention the town of Zadar, where 28,000 Serbs were driven out, and the capital city of Zagreb, which 120,000 Serbs had to leave because of pressure and threats from the Croats."

According to Jarcevic, the Serbs are willing to "give up" some areas to the Croats, but only "if this is done on the basis of an exchange of territories" and "minor corrections are undertaken in the process." The representative of the Krajina Serbs announced that the Krajina Serbs would soon unite with the Bosnian Serbs. He did not reject the final goal, the founding of a Serbian state together with the FRY, but this would "be possible only in the 21st century, because Serbia and Montenegro do not show any readiness for an agreement at the moment."

In conclusion, Jarcevic distanced himself from the threats by some generals that the Krajina Serbs would bomb Vienna "since there is simply no reason for that." However, "if the Croatian aggression against the Republika Srpska Krajina continues to intensify," Jarcevic added, "the bombing of Zagreb would follow." However, Jarcevic hopes that the next few days will bring a peaceful solution for the entire region.

Kucan Compares Serbia to 'Hitler's Germany'

AU1607133593 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 16 Jul 93 p 2

[Second part of interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Samo Kobenter in Ljubljana; date not given: "The Door Was Opened to Fundamentalism in Bosnia"]

[Text] [Kobenter] What led to the end of the independent state of Bosnia?

[Kucan] The first big mistake was the false estimation by the West, which believed that a civil war was taking place in Bosnia. On the basis of this theory, Alija Izetbegovic, who was elected as president by all Bosnian citizens, has been reduced to the representative of the Muslim ethnic group. With this step and the acceptance of the self-proclaimed representatives of the Serbian and Croatian ethnic groups, the state was deprived of its legitimacy. The next big mistake was the imposition of a unilateral weapons embargo against Bosnia that affected exclusively the Muslims. The Croats and Serbs are being supported by Zagreb and Belgrade, whereas the United Nations does not give the Muslims the required instruments for self-defense. Thus, the Muslims had no choice but to ask the Islamic fundamentalists for help—which is completely contrary to their 500-year-old tradition and culture. Christian Europe brought about what it fears most: It has opened the door to Islamic fundamentalism.

[Kobenter] Yet this alone is not the reason for the increasing weakness of the Bosnian president.

[Kucan] Izetbegovic lost support in Bosnia when it became clear that the Vance/Owen plan would lead to a recognition of the status quo created on the battle field. Finally, this also prompted a conflict between the Croats and Muslims because the Croats realized that it is possible to safeguard interests with the use of weapons.

[Kobenter] What role did Croatia play in this context?

[Kucan] Croatia is even more interested in winning additional territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina than Serbia. Tudjman is really obsessed with this idea. A broad community of interests certainly exist among his government.

[Kobenter] Do you see a possibility for a future peaceful coexistence in the Balkans?

[Kucan] A change of attitude is required in Serbia to achieve that. I am convinced that the Serbian people will realize where they have been lead by their ultra-nationalist politicians. Today's situation in Serbia can be compared with that of Hitler's Germany. A democratic Serbia, however, should have its place in the world. It will be difficult for Serbia to get there because the alternative must come from within Serbia and the legitimacy of the Milosevic regime must be dissolved. This cannot be enforced from outside.

Peterle Discusses Borders, Politics

AU2007102693 Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 10 Jul 93 p 23

[Interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle by Joze Horvat and Janez Markes; place and date not given]

[Text] The focus of attention in Slovenia has, for a while, again shifted from the economy to politics—foreign and internal alike. The issue of relations with Croatia are opening again, there is talk of Yugoslavia's restoration, six politicians returned their state awards to the president, and the government coalition is endangered to a degree. A confidence vote in [Legislation Minister] Miha Kozinc took place and the Parliament debated the legitimacy of bugging. Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle is a politician who has been rather close to these events recently and, therefore, we decided to ask him a few questions regarding them.

[SLOVENEC] Bearing in mind the successful international activities, what has Slovenia's international position been like in the last couple of weeks and what do you think of the theories on Yugoslavia's restoration?

[Peterle] I maintain that Slovenia has asserted itself well in international policy. It has a good name and reputation, and its importance exceeds its physical size. According to the World Bank data, it has very good economic references, even the best among "the countries in transition." Slovenia has been clearly and definitively drawn on the political map of the world, and is now exploiting this for its economic purposes and the conquest of new markets. Among the politicians and diplomats we sometimes still come across opinions favoring Yugoslavia's restoration. Wishes or questions sometimes arise in the sense, it would be nice if.... We reject this from the very beginning. Slovenia has gained its individuality. I believe that the times when anyone believed that Slovenia could be placed within the Yugoslav framework are over. The analytical departments of other countries' foreign ministries classify Slovenia as a Central European, and no longer a Balkan, state. The Serbs wish to restore Yugoslavia, but I doubt that they believe that Slovenia would consent to such a plan.

[SLOVENEC] How firm are our borders, for example the southern border and the western border?

[Peterle] Formally speaking, they are firm. The borders have been confirmed with the Helsinki Charter. For example, Italy never formally initiated the issue of the border, but certain political circles in Trieste do. Regarding Croatia, what we agreed upon with the constitutional laws, namely the borders of 25 June 1991, still holds. The Croats have forgotten about this a little in the case of Piran Bay, as they offer a different solution. The experts on both sides have already signed once that the land registry borders are authoritative and, therefore, I believe that Croatia, nevertheless, will not seek trouble in the West. These things will be sorted out within a

relatively short period of time. I believe that the borders are firmer that they, superficially, appear.

[SLOVENEC] You, therefore, believe that Piran Bay will be under Slovene supervision?

[Peterle] We cannot step down from the fact that Slovenia is also sovereign in Piran Bay. Before the aforementioned date we had direct access to the open sea and control over Piran Bay.

[SLOVENEC] From what [Croatian President] Dr. Franjo Tudjman said recently, it could be deduced that Croatia would give away the Piran Bay if Slovenia gave corridors. How would you comment on this?

[Peterle] It is not about corridors and President Tudjman did not speak about them either. He was referring to certain concessions in the sphere of transport. We see no need to "step down" from what is ours. Better to say, we would "make favors" to each other. Croatia is not renouncing anything in Piran Bay because it did not control this territory before. We do not need to emphasize the free access to the open sea either. Namely, we have had it before and this right stems from the succession.

[SLOVENEC] Part of the Slovene public and the Parliament is very adverse to the hitherto negotiations. You have rejected them rather sharply. Why?

[Peterle] I rejected sharply the manner and the contents of the debate because it could lead us back to the Balkan way of negotiating. I favor a law-governed state and I wish that we stick to what we had agreed upon.

If anyone wishes to change the criteria and enter the historic circumstances of the drawing of the border in Istria, then he must obtain the support of the two thirds of the deputies in the Parliament. The Foreign Ministry will then be obliged to take a different position. At this moment it is difficult to do anything about Kardelj drawing the border to our detriment and not taking into consideration the historic arguments. I will personally strive to have good contacts with Croatia and the neighboring states. I do not favor the policy of distance, as one of the deputies said. We will have to live one next to another.

[SLOVENEC] If this applies to the internal policy, too, what do you think of yesterday's heated debate in the Parliament, also concerning the confidence vote in [Legislation Minister] Miha Kozinc?

[Peterle] In light of the debate, our deputy Vida Cadonic asked a very valid question: Is it all about Kozinc or Christian Democracy? The question is naturally rhetoric, but the Slovene Christian Democrats [SDK] are for some people the perpetual "culprit," ever since the times of Demos. The Democrats are the loudest, although they destroyed Demos and reproached the ruling coalition of that time for being against the "red directors" and so forth. Within Demos they were also against the property transformation law. They are saying quite the opposite now. They cannot come to terms with the fact that they have ended up in opposition. I view the Kozinc case in light of this. I believe that this confidence vote was aimed more at the Christian Democrats. It was vested in cheap moralization....

[SLOVENEC] To set aside the possible feelings of being endangered, do you believe that Kozinc is completely innocent?

[Peterle] What I think is one thing, what I can prove is another. If I had proof of him being guilty of cooperating with the State Security Service or impairing his client, I would have voted for no confidence regardless of the political consequences. There was no such proof. Instead of presenting proof, some people were interpreting the morale of the Christian Democrats. The game became obvious, and Kozinc actually came "handy" as a sort of a test. In the vote, our deputies acted in accordance with their conscience and judgment, and the attacks on our party only made this job easier for them.

[SLOVENEC] Although you feel threatened, I find it interesting that you change roles with the Democrats, also in relation with the (anti)communism, but, despite everything, you managed to "find common ground" when you returned state awards to [President] Kucan.

[Peterle] I do not feel threatened, but rather disillusioned with a partner with whom we had cooperated. The elections have shown who is threatened. The letter by the six politicians was more of a personal than a program document. It was not written with a common political denominator, but it can clarify certain affairs and also have long-term consequences. However, this does not represent a nucleus of the new coalition or new Demos. The common denominator is questions concerning the personality of Mr. President Kucan. For me, the profanation of the highest state award was the crucial thing.

[SLOVENEC] President Kucan commented on the return of awards rather sharply in two of his public appearances, while the six of you did not respond....

[Peterle] What is important is that President Kucan did not answer the key questions. He spoke a lot without saying much. Mr. Krkovic also returned the award.

The fact is that certain issues did not see daylight. This was probably useful for Slovenia, as we would otherwise stir tempers and the political scene at a wrong time. However, I think that it would be very important if certain issues were clarified now, as there is too much political fog in Slovenia.

[SLOVENEC] President Kucan recently spoke of "the road dinar [as published]," transportation, and the fact that nobody really deals with important issues. Do you believe that this constitutes meddling in the government's policy or in the work of the ministers from your party?

[Peterle] The president is, of course, a political persona. It is easy to say that nobody deals with important issues,

however, the truth is another matter. We must, of course, specify who is actually responsible for the transportation. The relation between the president who, according to the constitution, merely represents the state and, for example, a foreign minister, who must observe the guidelines set by the State Chamber, has not been perfectly laid out yet. When the president expresses a certain opinion, concerning Croatia, for example, which the government has not yet discussed or taken a stance on, then problems ensue. The public does not know when he is putting forward personal opinions and when they are the opinions of the state. His personal opinions should not differ from the positions of the government. It was not always like this.

[SLOVENEC] A theory has been put forward by the media that the president has a very powerful lobby. He said, himself, that although he is officially poorly informed he is, nevertheless, well- informed. We have read that his influence stretches into your ministry, too. Danilo Slivnik mentioned Ignac Golob. Do you feel this?

[Peterle] The state must have only one diplomacy. The president can obtain all the necessary information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I am not in favor of special information channels. Mr. Golob was ascribed to Kucan while somebody else in the same paper ascribed him to the SKD. What matters to me is that he works correctly, expertly, and loyally. However, it is true that Kucan, in the past, controlled almost everything and that these lobbies continue to function. At the collegium, I was forced to emphasize that the staff are subordinated to the minister.

[SLOVENEC] Vinko Levstek appeared in the Parliament on Wednesday. He was acquitted a few days ago. What does this mean for the internal political scene and the reconciliation?

[Peterle] I am not sure if this will particularly help the reconciliation. It seems that the public prosecutor does not have sufficient legal basis for the continuation of the process. I hope, that this does not represent a political deal but an action of a law-governed state.

[SLOVENEC] The events in the parliament mirror its political composition. Your party continues to pursue its policy and has recently again called upon the Slovene Peoples' Party to unite. What are generally the possibilities for unification of the parties that have very similar program basis?

[Peterle] We do not make "blind" steps. When we again proposed the unification of parties, we departed from political reasoning as well as from the atmosphere among the membership, which mostly wants unification and does not agree with the struggle within the common sphere. We also proposed unification because we matched in our interests on several occasions and voted the same way. The antagonism between these two parties is nonsensical. The response that we received, which referred to the confidence motion in Kozinc, was moralizing and provocative.

[SLOVENEC] How do you view the criticism of certain intellectuals of the coalition and your party joining it, namely, that the cooperation with the communists is not possible for moral reasons?

[Peterle] First of all, communists and former communists are in nearly all parties. Absolute "purity" is impossible. I do not hear much of such criticism. In politics, one generally does not chose between good but rather between bad options. Among them one picks the least bad one. We have not heard such moralizing for long. At the same time, our response is that there were chances for the United List not to be in the coalition if only the Peoples' Party had acted differently and had been capable of negotiating. It transpired that it was not and that it put forward impossible conditions. The coalition could have been different. We put forward our positions, achieved a relatively good position within the government in which we work, and I believe that we do not work badly.

[SLOVENEC] What are your concrete achievements?

[Peterle] I am convinced that the Slovenes now perceive the Interior Ministry as more depoliticized and without fear, unlike before. [Transportation] Minister Umek has made some good steps regarding the construction of new roads and he has started to resolve the problem of the railways, which has not moved from a standstill before. [Agriculture] Minister Osterc continues the policy outlined during his first mandate and he has put forward solutions that caused confrontations unnecessarily. Namely, they could have been achieved in consensus, without obstructions and protests. The agreement was reached on the basis of guidelines proposed by Minister Osterc and, thus, laid the foundations for a long-term development of agriculture. The strategy of agriculture's development that Osterc had proposed to the government was also supported by the Parliament. Therefore, we have laid the foundations. I dare say that Slovenia made progress in foreign policy, too.

[SLOVENEC] Has the ministry already prepared its strategy in foreign policy?

[Peterle] A draft strategy was already prepared in June and it is now undergoing critical examination. I anticipate that the strategy will reach the Parliament in September.

[SLOVENEC] Some believe that the cadres from the previous regime are being resurrected in the Foreign Ministry....

[Peterle] I would say that the department has better staff than I expected. There are some people from the old times, but they are taking part in the project of Slovene foreign policy. So far there have been no cases that would require radical changes in the structure. However, it is a fact that this department is still in the process of being created, that new people are coming who are being

trained and prepared for work. The makeup is changing, not in a revolutionary way, however, but through evolution.

TV Council: Italian Programming Not Being Curtailed

AU1907153593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] The Program Council for National Television Programs at today's regular 19th session examined reactions to the proposed statute of Radio and Television Slovenia and an open letter addressed to half the deputies of the Slovene State Chamber. The letter was written by Rudi Seligo, president of Radio and Television Slovenia Council, and was published in the media.

The Program Council for National Television Programs unanimously upheld Seligo's letter and, among other things, stressed that the phrasing of the proposed statute of Radio and Television Slovenia—as proposed to the State Chamber—especially safeguards the autonomy of the Italian-language program of the Koper-Capodistria Television. For this reason, criticisms alleging the curtailing of this autonomy are unsubstantiated.

The Program Council for National Television Programs proposed a meeting with the Program Council for Italian Minority Radio and Television at which all issues concerning the program would be discussed.

National Rightist Party Holds First Congress

93BA1196F Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jun 93 p 1

[Article by Majda Struc: "New Name, New Ties"]

[Text] *The first regular congress of the Slovene National Right [SND]: for a united Slovene right wing; Saso Lap, new president of the SND; Slovenia for the Slovenes.*

Maribor, 27 Jun—From now on the Slovene National Party-Independent Deputies' Group (which separated from Zmago Jelincic's Slovene National Party) is called the SND, and has new symbols and a new president, 40-year-old Saso Lap from Kranj, who, among his basic goals, particularly emphasizes the necessity of unification or closer cooperation among the Slovene right-wing parties—that is how one could briefly summarize the conclusions of the party's first regular congress, which was held on Saturday in Maribor.

They invited representatives of 16 parties to the congress, and five of them came, including SKD [Slovene Christian Democrats] President Lojze Peterle, who said: "Some people would only like to speak in Slovene about citizens, but others of us know that we also have to speak about the people. I am glad to cooperate with you, because I think that a great deal still has to be done in connection with the national question."

The SND congress ended in a clash of opinions and decisions being made by two-thirds versus one-third of the delegates, which is the ratio in which they also elected president Saso Lap (his rival candidate was likewise a deputy in the State Assembly, Marjan Poljsak), and chose closer cooperation with Gros's Liberal Party and the part of the National Party that did not want to join the SKD in a "Slovene National-Liberal-Social Bloc" [SNLSB]. They expect a coalition agreement to be signed soon with the Slovene People's Party, and are also counting on other rightist parliamentary and nonparliamentary parties. The party's new president emphasized: "We have to prevent a march by the left wing, and strengthen the fragmented right wing. The SND is a party that cares more about its people than about the convenience of any sort of internationalism. We Slovene nationalists will always say decisively, with all our resources, where the border is between Europe and non-Europe, and repeat our slogan: Slovenia for Slovenes."

At the SND congress, we also heard the following position: Anyone whose father is a Slovene can be a Slovene; if only his mother is a Slovene, the child can be a Slovene only when he adopts Slovene cultural habits and his mother's surname.

Federal

General Panic Interviewed on State of Army

AU1907201993 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jul 93 pp 17-19

[Interview with Lieutenant General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, by Svetislav Spasojevic, place and date not given: "We Have Been at War"]

[Text] In the last few days the Army of Yugoslavia has found itself at the center of public attention. The Assembly of Yugoslavia first of all refused to endorse an adjustment to the budget, thus suddenly depriving the army of a huge sum of money for at least the foreseeable future. Otherwise, it has been shaken by economic misfortunes for quite a long time, so that it took the "last Assembly attack on its existence" with bitterness. It needs money for maintenance and modernization costs, thousands of officers are now subtenants but monthly wages are considerably less than rents. The families that fled Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina can barely make ends meet with the money they have left.

Those who are well acquainted with the situation claim that the morale of the Yugoslav Army is not at an enviable level. In the atmosphere of uncertainty that has been the norm for a long time, feelings of hopelessness outweigh optimism and morale. Most officers, for example, cannot come to terms with the fact that while the number of solders is diminishing the number of policemen is increasing! The Army is indeed being rocked by affairs from which it cannot rid itself. As one ends another finishes and a very poor public picture is created about the defenders of peace, happiness, and the borders.... At the very top echelons of the Army it is thought that great injustices are being committed at a time when there has been no cause for happiness.

All this was the occasion for an interview with Lieutenant General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia.

[Spasojevic] General Panic, let us start at the beginning: What is the situation like in the Army?

[Panic] I hope you do not expect me to be able to describe the situation in the Army of Yugoslavia in one sentence. Instead, I will stress that our serious financial situation is dominating this issue and threatens to undermine all vital and necessary Army functions which the Army must have. I mean primarily the development and maintenance of a high level of combat readiness which we need more than ever before because of the threats to which our state and people are being subjected. However, I can assure you that despite all the misfortunes the Army of Yugoslavia has suffered it has resolved to fulfill its constitutional duty and responsibility. Nothing can bring change that.

[Spasojevic] I asked this question because the military budget was rejected by the Federal Assembly and because I am interested in the consequences of this decision. There have certainly been some consequences.

[Panic] The serious economic situation and, to a certain extent, some non-economic reasons influenced the deputies so that they did not endorse the budget in the Federal Assembly, and this has inevitably led to a weakening in the social status of Army members. In fact, this status has already been undermined in every respect for quite a long time. The public has had occasion to find out about this. The enormous and acute lack of financial resources in the Army of Yugoslavia has created great difficulties in the functioning of the Army organization and particularly in carrying out the transformation to which we are committed.

As you know, the military budget is a single budget and, in line with the Law on Financing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, relates to resources for the work of the Ministry of Defense; the current expenditure of the Army of Yugoslavia; the financing of Army pensions and the program to provide financial resources for the transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia.

[Spasojevic] What will happen if the budget is not endorsed again?

[Panic] If the budget is not expeditiously endorsed, planned activities in these areas will be considerably hindered. As an illustration of the kind of conditions Army members live and work under, I will cite the fact that in June the vast majority of Army members received wages considerably below the minimum price of labor of 90,300,000 dinars.

[Spasojevic] That really is disturbing.

[Panic] It is so typical that there is no need for comment. What can officers or civilian personnel do with these incomes if they have come from the seceded republics and been left with absolutely nothing, and through no fault of their own? There are a great many such. I cannot even talk about modernization requirements and the provision of modern equipment, particularly bearing in mind that resources are being more quickly used up because of the Army's participation in the war and the problems it has inherited.

[Spasojevic] It is often said that today's police force is in fact the future core of a professional army. How do you interpret these claims?

[Panic] I think that these kinds of comparisons are quite inappropriate. Such pronouncementsare primarily politically motivated. In light of its purpose, constitutional role, and special capabilities, the police cannot be the core of a professional army. The responsibilities of all institutions are made clear by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Such ideas are rendered completely redundant by the new Law on the Army of

Yugoslavia which creates normative-legal conditions for it to function in a comprehensive, stable, and permanent manner.

[Spasojevic] I am assuming that you will say the relations between the Army and the police are good. But I will nevertheless ask you: What are they like?

[Panic] The Army of Yugoslavia enjoys very proper and all-encompassing cooperation with the federal and republican ministries for internal affairs within the framework of their constitutional powers and responsibilities. We jointly fulfill many tasks at crisis hot spots, which is understandable. For example, in protecting the state border in Kosovo and Sandzak.

[Spasojevic] Do you think, as do some of our interviewees, that the role of the police has been overemphasized?

[Panic] I do not share the view, increasingly overheard in public, that the role of the police has been overemphasized and that it is exaggerated. On the contrary, in a situation where our security and independence have been undermined by all kinds of so-called internal destruction, including armed revolt for the sake of secession of some parts of the state, the police force must be of the right kind and the right size to complement the Army of Yugoslavia in the defense and protection of its integral security. Therefore, I do not at all think that the Army and police force are in any way rivals.

[Spasojevic] There is no doubt at all that these comparisons on the fate of the Army and the position of the police force have been given their seriousness and dramatic nature by some parties. I therefore also want to ask you if the Army is becoming involved in relations between the parties. It is being claimed that some officers are close to the socialists, some to the radicals, some to the democrats....

[Panic] Article 42 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia contains the regulation that professional members of the Army and the militia cannot be members of political parties. In this regard, the Army of Yugoslavia does not allow political activity, organization, and propaganda by individual parties. It is essential that the Army of Yugoslavia is consistently politically neutral, devoid of ideology, and depoliticized.

[Spasojevic] What are you doing to achieve this aim? Not you personally but the military leadership.

[Panic] We are doing our utmost to be the army of the state, the people, and all citizens, as this is the rule in all parliamentary democracies. Only as such and in this way can we carry out our patriotic duty in defending the fatherland. However, when it comes to depoliticization, I have to remind you that in any state the army is the ultimate means of defending the constitutional order. What you are saying and what can sometimes be heard, that some officers are supposedly nearer to the Socialists, Radicals, Democrats, or some other parties, relates solely to individual cases and is a matter of personal preference.

[Spasojevic] Are there any ideological remnants in the Army of the former Yugoslav People's Army?

[Panic] There are and it is understandable that there are ideological remnants of the former army, reflected in the fact that some officers have publicly stated their political affiliation. The adoption of the Law on the Army of Yugoslavia creates the conditions to eliminate such cases. Of course, I would add to all of this that it is in the interest of all political parties to have an ideologically neutral, fatherland, and professional army, which is where I see the patriotic duty and responsibility of these parties too. Attempts by some parties and their leaders to influence the Army of Yugoslavia are totally unacceptable for us and therefore we have a resolute stand regarding such attempts, which is justifiably critical and rational. In no country, when it comes to the army, can individual or party interests be above the general social and state interest. This is also a rule to which we will completely adhere.

[Spasojevic] General, I must now ask you an unavoidable question: Even if the situation was not the way it is, could this state maintain more than 200,000 armed people—the estimated number of Army and police personnel?

[Panic] This is above all a state and political question. There can be no state without an army and a police force. Another question is the shape they take. It is certain however that their size is determined above all by the degree to which the country is in peril and, of course, by the resources of the state and society's economic potential. After all, every society and state know what they finance and why. All this goes through a democratic, parliamentary public procedure. This is the way decisions become legal and legitimate. Decisions are made in the same or a similar way on the size of the Army, and therefore the size of the forces of the Ministry for Internal Affairs too. Therefore, nothing is concealed from the public. At the moment we really do not have any arguments whatsoever which would bring into question the state of the Army and the police force. I just want to mention that the security of the country and the safety of the citizens of any state is a priority commitment and particularly important. There is no reason for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be an exception in this sense.

[Spasojevic] We have now come to the complex question of paramilitary formations. It is an open secret that [Vojislav] Seselj's [leader of the Serbian Radical Party] people are fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Cosic spoke about paramilitary units in the federal parliament before his sudden dismissal. Other protagonists on the public stage have spoken about this too. General, do you see the paramilitary units as a danger to our country?

[Panic] Since civil war represents the most complex form of armed conflict, the forces conducting it and taking part in it are multiplied according to different motives and aims. The experience of most civil wars undoubtedly confirms this.

Just defining the paramilitary formations as nonarmy formations is not sufficiently justified either conceptually or substantively. This concerns larger or smaller groups of volunteers who sooner or later put themselves under a single command.

In the case of the conflicts in the former Yugoslav republics, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the biased emphasis on the existence of paramilitary formations on the Serbian side has been a crude political falsehood and a way to systematically manipulate the truth. The Serbian people's self-organized struggle for physical survival on these territories is being persistently portrayed and will continue to be portrayed as aggression, and in this context it is being insisted that paramilitary formations exist. The latest developments, particularly the armed conflicts between hitherto allies on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, undoubtedly confirms this.

[Spasojevic] This is not the whole answer.

[Panic] No, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the law prohibits the existence and activities of paramilitary formations. There is the Army of Yugoslavia and the police force which have clearly defined roles and tasks in preserving the peace and protecting territorial integrity. There are, however, clear indications that ethnic minorities, above all, the Albanians in Kosovo and the Muslims in Sandzak, are doing their utmost to organize and arm themselves illegally in order to carry out their secessionist and hostile role in dismantling the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its member states at an appropriate moment and with the support of international factors. The responsible state organs are taking certain actions in line with their legal and constitutional powers against these same destructive illegal activities. It is certain that such anticonstitutional and antistate activities are not in their interest as citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and do not further peace and civil security. This is all the more so because democratic and parliamentary institutions allow them to exercise all their civil and ethnic rights in a legal and legitimate way.

[Spasojevic] Now that you have already mentioned legality and legitimacy, perhaps this is the moment for us to recall Dobanovci and the departure of President Cosic. In fact I would like to ask you about the Army as a bargaining tool in political games.

[Panic] The departure of Dobrica Cosic as president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is above all a political issue. This is where the answer to the question should be sought. This is primarily because this is not within the powers or the responsibilities of the Army of Yugoslavia. As regards the meeting in Dobanovci, this was a working meeting, officially called, whereat current issues within the powers of the Chief of Staff of the Army and the supreme commander were discussed. As you know, at that point Mr. Dobrica Cosic was both president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the supreme commander who commands the Army of Yugoslavia at war and peace on the basis of the stands of the Supreme Defense Council.

The question of using the Army in party political relations is one aspect of the complex process of the Army's democratization. General laws of complex social trends indicate that any process is to a greater or lesser extent at least a two-way process.

[Spasojevic] What does that actually mean?

[Panic] To put it more simply, the absence of the Army from politics does not mean that politics is totally absent from the Army or in attitudes toward the Army. I have already said something about this.

[Spasojevic] Is the systematic compromising of the Army part of some policy that includes the trial of the generals, dismissals, ethnic cleansing, "Cvecara"....

[Panic] When the Army of Yugoslavia was set up it was in an extremely difficult position. The inheritance from the former Yugoslav People's Army was great and difficult: Relocating from the breakaway republics produced around 13,000 active military personnel and civilians; more than 4,000 pensioners and 40,000 family members remained uncared for, without means and property; expensive combat systems and means were put on ice; and the sudden change in the system of values and, particularly, the legal vacuum was caused by the lack of basic legal regulations.

[Spasojevic] In military language one could say: a complex situation.

[Panic] Yes, and the tasks were extremely complex. The threat of military intervention and armed provocations on the border with Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were frequent and intensive. Also we had to go ahead with the Army's transformation. However, despite this, the Army of Yugoslavia has maintained its identity and respective force. Assessments by international analysts even today show that the Army of Yugoslavia is an exceptionally powerful armed force and that it was the main factor in averting intervention. Therefore it has completely fulfilled its role.

The negative events you mention were almost unavoidable. The change in the system of values, the consequences of the war, the legacy, and the lack of a legal foundation were reflected in a change in the behavior of individuals whose punishment is within the powers of judicial organs.

The professional cadre changes and the reduction in numbers could in certain cases be interpreted as ethnic cleansing, although this is more because of the consequences than the intentions. This was considerably aided by the aforementioned lack of legal regulations. The

Army itself has overcome such individual interpretations and conduct, respecting above all the character of the federal state as a civilian and democratic state.

[Panic] And the replacements?

[Spasojevic] Replacements in high military positions are a regular activity within which certain mistakes could have been made, but these cannot be a trend like some other instances that have probably unjustifiably been given exclusive media attention.

[Spasojevic] Do you mean the affair linked to your name and Seselj's accusations?

[Panic] As regards the affair linked to my name, I hope that the Supreme Defense Council will very soon make a decision on this on the basis of a report from the state commission. Until then I would not like to prejudice the assessments in any way.

[Spasojevic] The last question: the new Law on the Army of Yugoslavia....

[Panic] The law has not yet been passed, so perhaps it is too soon to talk about and analyze the nature of the changes. What is without doubt is the fact that this will eliminate the legal vacuum in which the Army has existed and which has to a greater or lesser extent caused considerable difficulties and problems.

If the Law on the Army of Yugoslavia is passed it will regulate all essential questions that are important to the functioning of the military organization, ranging from finance through organization to command and control. This is in all respects an exceptionally important step which allows the Army to be what it has to be, one of the key state institutions.

On the basis of the provisions of this law, legal conditions will be created for the all-encompassing transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia.

[Spasojevic] This is why the General Staff and the Ministry of Defense have insisted so much that it be passed.

[Panic] Exactly.

NATO Plans Regarding Yugoslavia Examined

93BA1195G Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 93 pp 48-49

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "NATO at the Door"]

[Text] Will NATO enter Yugoslavia or will Yugoslavia enter NATO? More precisely: Is NATO at this moment weaving some kind of net of its own around Yugoslavia? And is Yugoslavia preparing, in spite of everything, to finally join NATO itself?

Although this first observation—in the form of a question about Yugoslav borders being surrounded—seems obvious now, so that logical questions arise: "Why, with what objective?" The second one at this moment is perhaps even more likely! Incidentally, the Yugoslav foreign minister, Vladisiav Jovanovic, in a recent newspaper interview made his observation, which at the time seemed unthinkable, but today seems quite natural and lucid: "One day, we will get around to NATO, with which we will have to establish contacts and certain forms of cooperation."

There is no doubt whatsoever that even the very thought of such a possibility, i.e., of Yugoslavia joining NATO in some form, would be a shock to some people here. And the reasons for that shock—whatever attempts are being made now to justify the agitation, the displeasure, and a priori rejection of such a possibility—would be exclusively ideological in nature. After all, we should not forget that during all the decades of the official policy of "nonalignment" NATO was almost the synonym for the Devil himself in these parts.

To whatever extent the ruling regime in Yugoslavia tries, at least officially, to demonstrate a policy of "equidistance" from the two military alliances in Europe, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the latter Eastern bloc was always somehow closer to the hearts of influential people in the very top leadership, who were traditionally inclined to place their trust in the "Russian brothers" and the principles of "proletarian internationalism." The paradox is all the greater because even in those times the very pronounced ideological "purity," or communist rigidity, of some of the "nonaligned" generals here did not hinder them in the least from maintaining close ties and contacts with various NATO institutions and leading figures in that Western military alliance.

It is thus widely known that many distinguished military figures here, especially those in the older generation, some of whom are holding command positions in the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] even now, have gone through various NATO schools and military academies, beginning with the famous West Point in the United States. Even the former Yugoslav federal defense minister, Veljko Kadijevic, was there at one time on some kind of advanced training or specialization. And recently, while the public here was still preoccupied with the "Panic Affair" (which obviously suddenly died out after removal of Dobrica Cosic, for reasons which we can only guess at), the younger Panic mentioned in his letter, which was supposed to justify himself and his father, an interesting detail unknown to the public.

"My father corresponds with General Colin Powell, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States...," the younger Panic said at that time. As a matter of fact, he made it known to everyone that Gen. Powell and his father are not only acquaintances, but in fact good friends and that they respect one another....

Of course, there is nothing unusual about that. And it is quite natural that people who do a similar job in different countries know one another and sometimes even correspond. Or consult with one another.... And it seems

that the new dimension of military alliances in Europe, based on the readiness of many countries to come closer in some way to NATO, rose precisely from that knowledge.

The first, for the moment limited, contingent of about 300 American soldiers is arriving in Macedonia. And the Macedonian defense minister, Vlado Popovski, says that his country will soon have to join NATO, that is, to become part of the present collective system of NATO and join that organization's council. Although that news aroused visible suspicion and perplexity in Serbia and Montenegro, there is hardly anything unusual about it at all. This actually only closes the circle and brings to an end a process that began long ago.

Round and Round

The encirclement of Yugoslavia by new allies of NATO began back at that moment a few years ago when Yugoslavia's northern neighbor, Hungary, announced its application to join that military alliance. The Bulgarians, Albanians, Romanians...followed suit.

Following the largely spectacular visit of Manfred Werner, NATO general secretary, to Albania, just as in the case of the visit of Ion Iliescu, the Romanian president, to NATO headquarters in Brussels, and similar high-level contacts between leading figures of Bulgaria and their counterparts in that military alliance, Yugoslavia, that is, Serbia and Montenegro, found themselves in a new military encirclement. Does this now mean that some large military action by NATO forces against Yugoslavia is being prepared?

It is difficult for someone who is not privy to the military secrets of the world powers to confidently give a precise answer to this question. But it nevertheless seems that the belief in some kind of immediate danger to the security of Serbia and Montenegro, which now would be a threat from NATO forces or from their new allies, former members of the former Warsaw Pact, who have joined NATO in the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation (NACC), is exaggerated, to say the least. It will rather be the case that what might now seem ominous to citizens of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the encirclement of their borders, is the result of an inevitable process which, as we have already said, began much earlier and has very little to do with Yugoslavia.

That is, soon after the collapse and then official burial of the Warsaw Pact, accelerated "NATO-ization" of East Europe began. The countries which formally are not members of NATO, but which have had with it some kind of "regulated" relations and "coordinated" activities until recently included all the former members of the Warsaw Pact, headed by the Russian Federation, that is, almost all the new countries created on the soil of the former Soviet Union.

To tell the truth, none of the East European countries, not even the Czech Republic and Poland, which in that respect have displayed the most fervent desires, have for the present been accepted into full membership in the North Atlantic military alliance. It is probably a question of the West still keeping to the deals it made at one time with Mikhail Gorbachev, who offered to withdraw from that part of Europe provided that the other side not immediately enter that space. And because even Boris Yeltsin would not look kindly on such a move even now, the Czechs and Poles will have to wait some more.

Diplomatic sources were recently making assertions that (even) the Russians, through their ambassador in Belgrade, who was visiting Skoplje, were trying to persuade Kiro Gligorov not to invite the aid of American soldiers. If that is really the case, this might be understood as Moscow's persistence in the position that everyone—including themselves—can now cooperate with everyone, including NATO, but that NATO soldiers ought not on their own to enter areas where they were not present earlier.... In that respect, there was a very significant denial published after the recent visit of Choflin, the Romanian chief of the General Staff, to Washington and his visit with Clinton and Powell, where there was talk about Romania's future collaboration with NATO: "Romania has not promised its military bases to NATO forces," he said on that occasion out of a desire to deny what was being written in certain Bucharest papers, who were saying the opposite.

The case of Albania, that is, that country's inclusion in the class of "associate members" of NATO, was seen by Yugoslavia as a still greater and still more direct challenge. No one here doubts at this point that in case of any international military intervention in Kosovo or in connection with Kosovo, Albania would serve as the main base of NATO forces. However, Western diplomats are persistently trying to offer a quite different explanation: It is being said in the circles of the Geneva Conference that receiving Albania into the "NATO family" actually decides once and for all that Kosovo remains with Serbia. After all, it is said, for Albania to be received as an associate member of NATO, it would have to officially renounce claims to the territories of neighboring states where Albanians live.

The 16 NATO member countries and 38 "associate" countries make up the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation, which, as we mentioned, was recently created and is first supposed to become a kind of European security system and then perhaps even an entire "North Atlantic system" of that kind.

Soldier's Troubles

After the great joy and celebration because of what was called the "end of the cold war" or "definitive triumph over the world communist system," Western politicians have already begun to slowly sober up and calculate how many people could now lose their jobs because of that fact.

For instance, one recent study in the EC says that over the next two or three years another 20 percent of those employed in the West European arms and military

equipment industry could lose their jobs. In the United States, this process has been visible for the last several years: From 1987 to the present time, the American arms and military equipment industry has been forced to lay off a million workers, that is, 14 percent of its employees, who have become redundant.

Facts about the present pruning of military budgets are convincingly deduced from NATO figures. Thus, as recently as 1988 the 16 member countries of this organization were on average appropriating 4.6 percent of GNP for defense, while today this has dropped to only 3.8 percent. The drop has been striking with each passing year up to the end of 1991 and the beginning of 1992, when it was halted at least temporarily. It is not, of course, precluded that the situation of the war in Yugoslavia could have had an impact on the halting of this inexorable trend.

Figures on the number of people employed in the defense sector of the NATO countries are illustrative; we include in the calculation all those employed in the armed forces, that is, in the military and civilian sectors. Five years ago (according to summary figures for the 16 member countries of NATO), this sector employed more than 2.6 percent of the total available manpower; during 1992, the number of persons employed in the defense sector represented only 2.2 percent of the total labor force in those countries.

New financial troubles, but also present-day demands, which are by no means simple, being placed on the armament industry, which is called upon to supply increasingly sophisticated and powerful systems, are bringing about many changes in this area today which earlier were unthinkable. Thus, the NATO countries decided to adopt a new code of rules of behavior for customers and manufacturers of armament and military equipment which has already come to be called the "GATT within NATO."

In other words, when there is less and less money in the military budgets of the advanced industrial countries of the West, which are burdened with recession, and when competition among manufacturers has already reached a point where some have others by the throat, the drafters of this agreement are trying to alleviate at least to some extent the national trade barriers in this field: The producers from each individual NATO member country are in future to have a greater opportunity to enter competitions for military contracts in any other member country without problems or administrative obstacles.

It is not clear what will come in this respect from the present "NATO-ization" of East Europe. In any case, there is no doubt that the Russians are now trying with all their strength to sell the West the weapons and guns they once guarded well, and, above all, combat aircraft and corresponding aerospace technology. While Western manufacturers, above all, those from the NATO countries, are hoping that they might have some financial gain from East Europe, at least in the foreseeable future....

The fact that former enemies have now become allies does not mean, then, that their interests and cross-purposes have overnight been transformed into harmony. On the contrary, among the allies, both old and new, the battle is beginning only now, but now it will not be fought with death-dealing weapons, but with economics and technology.

Communists Publicly Criticize Ruling Party

93BA1195A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 93 p 24

[Article by Srboljub Bogdanovic: "The Right-Wingers Have Divided the Left-Wingers"]

[Text] "It all began with the events in and around the Assembly on 1 June," Stevan Mirkovic, head of the SK-PJ [League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia], said in his statement to NIN the day before the removal. "As head of the party, I had several comments to make about that, and I condemned the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] because of the violence, but we also condemned the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], which by making the motion against Cosic and the incident in the Assembly contributed to the bad atmosphere. We condemned the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] as well because of the arrangement with the SRS to remove Cosic. I also put the blame on the SPS for the situation during its administration where the Assembly is an arena, where people are lynched, and that is in fact true throughout society. Well, Comrade Mira Markovic did not like that, and that is how it all began."

Because General Mirkovic is already retired, perhaps they should have waited until some dissident younger than the former chief of the General Staff emerges within the "left" here. But that is the way it is. So long as it followed Milosevic, the SK-PJ was a small, but monolithic party ("Our programs were the same at the beginning, the SPS changed only its name," says Mirkovic). But the more farsighted long ago suspected the moment would come when Milosevic could be followed only if one followed Seselj at the same time. For Stevan Mirkovic, it has turned out, that moment was decisive. "Before I made the statement, I consulted with Mira Markovic and certain other distinguished members, and they told me: 'You should not attack Seselj. At this moment, only Vuk should be attacked.' That is the thinking of the SPS, because now it needs to have Seselj behind it in order to get rid of Vuk first. That is perfectly good logic for that party, but we are not that party," Gen. Mirkovic said.

The Dregs

That the attitude toward the right is at the bottom of the conflict within the party is confirmed by Goran Latinovic, chairman of the SK-PJ Republic Committee, but he has a somewhat different view of this: "Only a radical left can break up the radical right. And up to now the SK-PJ has not been a radical left," Latinovic says, offering several observations about "drawing-room Communists," which also applies to Gen. Mirkovic. "Today, we have a militant right which is the dregs of the former system, real bolsheviks of the Beria type, who are emerging both on the street and in the parliament." Latinovic says that this does not apply exclusively to the SPO, but also to the SRS: "By his behavior, Seselj has stamped a serious question mark on democratic relations in the parliament. As for Cosic's removal, I do not know why we would defend the anti-Communist Cosic."

The second point of difference (actually the first, when one bears in mind the importance of the Yugoslav concept in the programs of the communist parties that exist) is the way in which the present (and future) state is perceived. Stevan Mirkovic has very serious objections to the incumbent party: "The initiative for the Serbs to separate from Croatia originated here. Except around Knin, all the rest were saying that they were getting along fine and they even cautioned us not to quarrel. But we sent emissaries from here to raise the Serbs in rebellion. Our party still believes that the Serbs in Krajina must reach agreement with the Croats, and in Bosnia with those who live there. Only then can we undertake to reestablish cooperation among nationalities which once lived together."

Aside from public criticism of the SPS, Mirkovic believes that exposure of certain financial scandals and corruption in his party is also behind the attack on him. "If tomorrow the Yugoslav committee gets together a quorum and removes me, then I will have to accept that. Nevertheless, it should be said that those who sit on that committee do not represent the entire territory of Yugoslavia, but only those parts which are under Serbian control." Later, Gen. Mirkovic nevertheless did accept the decision of the Main Committee of his party, which expelled him from membership. It should also be added that Mirkovic was expelled just 15 days before the SK-PJ Congress, and the precongress fight for influence is obvious.

"We are not satisfied with the government," says Goran Latinovic, speaking about the policy of the ruling SPS-DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists] coalition, pointing to the clear neoliberalist tendencies. "We nevertheless are striving for constructive criticism, because we are a country which for two years now has de facto been at war. We are not giving up the Yugoslav orientation, but we respect the reality that the country in which we live at the moment is what it is. Our objectives are feasible only if we are politically aggressive enough, and that is the reason why we need a certain renewal in the party."

Radishes

The dilemmas troubling the SK-PJ are not affecting the New Communist Movement of Yugoslavia [NKPJ], the party which the SK-PJ considers too right-wing (revisionist). "I think it was proper for Cosic to be removed. We are also against fist fights in the Assembly. Without going into who is to blame, on the basis of what I have heard, I can understand this Vakic, because I perhaps would react the same way if someone told me I was an ustasha or chetnik," says Branko Kitanovic, NKPJ president. "Deputy Markovic is issuing challenges and insults, especially to us Communists. What happened afterward in front of the Assembly is a call for rebellion and declaration of war."

Asked to say something about the SRS as well, Kitanovic told us: "We have nothing in common with Seselj's party, but we take into account that they are against the new world order, the fifth column, and they are taking positions of patriotism, while these others are not. Perhaps the Radical Party does irritate some people, but that is something essentially different, and the real irritation comes from that other segment of the opposition, in the parliament and outside of it."

At this hour, there is no doubt, what is recognized as the patriotic (national) interest is dominant over ideological and other factors in every respect. This is also facilitated by the fact that the external danger (the new world order and so on) is interpreted equally as a national and ideological danger, so it is difficult to determine who has come closer to whom. The vojvoda long ago took offense at the epithet "red," and there is good reason to believe that Walensa was right when he said that "the Communists are like radishes, they are red only on the outside."

Croatian-Serbian Trade Alleged

93BA1195C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 93 p 28

[Article by A.B.: "New Fraternity"]

[Text] It is a real wonder that there is any traffic or economy left in the FRY after several months of the "blockade." The smugglers certainly deserve the credit for the few tons of petroleum that leak across the border.

The amount that reaches the street in that way is just enough to meet the needs of wealthy citizens. The origin of the petroleum that keeps the economy alive is unknown.

The reason why General Zivota Panic recently visited Iraq, a fellow target of sanctions, has long been attributed to the purchase of the liquid fuel.

Many people are also saying that the recent visit of the top Croatian military-political leadership to Serbia also had a trade dimension. On that occasion, it is said, an agreement was reached: Serbian electric power for Croatian petroleum (from the Adriatic oil pipeline).

Perhaps this is the inception of some new "brotherhood."

UNPROFOR Food Allegedly Sold by Centromarket

93BA1195D Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 93 p 28

[Article by A.B.: "Runaway Cheese"]

[Text] The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] packages distributed to refugees have included Danish "feta" cheese. In recent days, that same cheese has been sold in Centromarket supermarkets. Because this amazing coincidence aroused suspicion in NIN staffers that UNPROFOR goods were being sold, there has been interest in its origin.

According to one of this firm's directors, they purchased the goods from one of our own private operators, Holding Kompanija DIBET, that is, its branch DIMONTE. Employees in the firm DIMONTE explicitly state that the goods were imported regularly with all the necessary documents.

Be that as it may, after our inquiry the cheese "disappeared from the store, which, in view of the price of 700,00 dinars (a week ago) can hardly be attributed to the high demand. Incidentally, these packages have not been distributed to refugees during this past month. Another coincidence?

Serbia

Serb Opposition Leader Calls For UN Protection

PM1907151693 Paris LE MONDE in French 18-19 Jul 93 p3

[Interview with Serbian Opposition Leader Vuk Draskovic by Florence Hartmann in Belgrade on 16 July]

[Text] Belgrade—*Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic, pardoned a week ago by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic after 40 days in detention, left the neurosurgical clinic in Belgrade on Thursday 15 July. In the interview he granted to us on Friday, he had no hesitation in accusing the Serbian regime of having "tried to stage a new Reichstag fire" during his arrest on the night of 1 to 2 June.*

The antigovernment demonstration which turned into a riot outside the Belgrade federal parliament was, according to Mr. Draskovic, intended to serve as a pretext to Slobodan Milosevic to eliminate all opponents to the regime. "We have proof; the police and demonstrators were injured by members of the fascist party (Vojislav Seselj's ultranationalist Radical Party—LE MONDE editor's note). The regime's SS troops had orders to kill me, to kill several policemen, and to break the parliament building's windows..."

Finally released thanks to "pressure from the democratic world," and especially from France, he now intends to work for the union of the opposition. He admits that it has little chance of undermining the regime while the war continues in the neighboring republics and especially in Bosnia, but nonetheless feels that "in Serbia, anything can happen."

"Famine threatens," he said. "I fear the time when the starving people will take to the streets, because in that situation Tele-Bastille (the name given to the official television controlled by Slobodan Milosevic—LE MONDE editor's note) will not be able to do anything. It can act on everything other than on people's stomachs. The change must take place calmly and democratically to avoid a settling of scores. Any bloodshed in Serbia would plunge us even more deeply into hell."

Vuk Draskovic thinks that during the 40 days which he spent in prison, an important change took place in Serbia thanks to the international interventions in his favor: "The lies about the international anti-Serbian plot propagated for years shattered into a thousand pieces. The world does not hate either the Serbs or Serbia and, by understanding that there is a different Serbia, a democratic, European Serbia, a Serbia of peace, it held out both its hand to it."

With regard to Bosnia, Vuk Draskovic said he is "in despair" because some Western leaders seem resigned to a settlement which would mean the displacement of civilian populations and the exchange of territories. He recalled that in 1990, before the war broke out, the Serbian Renaissance Movement advocated in its program a federal Bosnia-Herzegovina formed of five or six regions, "which would not correspond to just ethnic criteria but also to economic and geographical criteria, each being able to be cantonized the better to guarantee the rights of the ethnic and religious minorities and preserve the mix so specific to Bosnia-Herzegovina." "But to achieve that, there must be no negotiations with those who started the war," he added.

In the situation of hatred which has been reached, Mr. Draskovic thinks that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be placed under UN protection: "The United Nations will have to disarm all sides, restore legal and civic security to the citizens, and free the media in Bosnia, as well as in Belgrade and Zagreb. Finally, the international court will have to sit as soon as possible to judge war criminals. If all that is done, I can assure you that the Serbs will hold their own leaders primarily responsible for the war, the Croatians their Croatian leaders, and the same for the Muslims. A UN protectorate in Bosnia would inevitably lead to the fall of the regime in Belgrade and Zagreb."

Asked how he thinks such protection could be imposed, he replied: "The disarmament of the warring sides is not a high-risk operation if the peacekeeping forces are formed by the biggest powers, namely the United States, France, Russia, and Britain. These powers participated in the creation of the first and second Yugoslavia and we

respect them all. The French and Russia forces should disarm the Serbs, the British the Croatians, and the Americans and the Muslims. There is no risk of failure because nobody will dare to fire on the soldiers of those great powers."

With regard to Kosovo, he said he is in favor of dialogue: "The new democratic Serbia which will eventually win will have to find a model guaranteeing national and civic rights for all citizens, whatever their religion, their ethnic group, or their political convictions. There are two things which must be remembered: Kosovo is the Serbian Jerusalem, the historic cradle of our nation, of our culture, and our religion—and it is inhabited mainly by native Albanians. These two elements must be taken into account and a democratic compromise found."

Macedonia

CEI Accepts Macedonia as Full Member

AU1907153793 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 19 Jul 93

[Unattributed report: "Macedonia Accessed to CEI Membership"]

[Text] In Budapest, first of all the ministers of nine member states of the Central European Initiative [CEI] accepted Macedonia as an observer to the organization on Friday. Saturday, at the meeting of the nine prime minister of the member states of the CEI, Macedonia was accepted as a full member of the Initiative.

The Central European Initiative was formed in 1989 as the Pentagonal, while today permanent members are Italy, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary, Bosnia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland.

For this occasion the Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, and the Minister for Foreign Relations Stevo Crvenkovski were in Budapest.

"This act is an expression of the complete support of Macedonia's integration in the European processes," said Branko Crvenkovski on the acceptance to the CEI.

Besides Macedonia, applications for acceptance to the CEI have submitted by Bulgaria, Romania, Belorus, and Ukraine; however, their accession to the CEI membership has been postponed because consensus by the members of the CEI has not been reached on their acceptance.

During his stay in Budapest, the Macedonian prime minister had a meeting with Jozef Antall and with the Austrian Prime Minister Franz Vranitsky.

Vranitsky announced the opening of an Austrian consulate in Skopje in the near future.

Views of Deputy Foreign Minister

AU1907135993 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jul 93 p 7

[Interview with Macedonian Deputy Foreign Minister Risto Nikovski by Anna Friedrich; place and date not given: "Membership Is a Step Toward Europe"]

[Text] For Skopje, the Budapest summit of the Central European Initiative [CEI] is an exceptionally important event. For Macedonia, the recently recognized independent state and former Yugoslav member state, participation in the conference is a chance to join Europe.

[Nikovski] We very much welcomed the news that the member states of the CEI wish Macedonia to be a member. Macedonia is the only former Yugoslav member republic which achieved its independence peacefully, in a civilized way, and also managed to preserve this peace that significantly contributed to the stability of this part of the Balkans.

[Friedrich] What role can you play in the Central European cooperation?

[Nikovski] Considering that territorial demands against Macedonia still exist, in our view, the maintenance of peaceful conditions is an important achievement. This is why we think that we already have proved, for Central Europe, that we are able to contribute to the preservation of peace and to cooperation. Considering that the delay in the international recognition of our republic has isolated us, participation in the CEI summit in Budapest is an important step for us on the road to Europe.

[Friedrich] Which areas of cooperation with Central European countries are important for Macedonia?

[Nikovski] Our participation in the highest level meeting of the CEI opens an opportunity for closer future cooperation with the member states. I would not like to emphasize any of the areas. Cooperation in the areas of environmental protection, culture, and the economy, everything that began between the participating countries with the Pentagonale and the Hexagonale, are equally important for us.

[Friedrich] Macedonia is somewhat far from Central Europe, and not primarily for geographical reasons: You are also suffering losses due to the economic embargo against the Serb-Montenegrin federation. Will you raise this issue at the CEI summit?

[Nikovski] The Macedonian Republic has suffered the greatest losses as a result of the embargo. First of all, it has to be mentioned that, due to the geographical proximity, from the point of view of the economy, Macedonia was mainly linked to Serbia and Montenegro in the former Yugoslav federation. Now our whole economy is forced to find new partners, which is very difficult. Our situation is made exceptionally bad by the fact that ours is the only land-locked country in the region. It is also a problem that everything, including

telecommunications, energy systems, and the roads, were built in a north-south direction in our region. We would like to raise our problems resulting from the embargo at the CEI summit.

Parliament To Discuss Law on Local Autonomy

AU1907153993 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 19 Jul 93

[Unattributed report: "The Law for Local Autonomy Presented"]

[Text] The minister in the Macedonian Government, Gordana Siljanovska, held a press conference on Friday during which the reporters were presented with the draft Law on Local Autonomy, which will soon be on the agenda of the Macedonian Parliament.

This law will regulate in full the work of the communities and the smaller forms of territorial organization in Macedonia, even though Minister Siljanovska stated that "she does not expect that all the problems of the communities will be solved with this law."

"Without decentralization there is no parliamentary democracy," stated Siljanovska, adding that she expects fierce disputes to arise among the general public and in the Parliament over the draft law, "especially on the articles which regulate the use of the language and the writing in the communities in which the nationalities represent a majority."

Montenegro

Prince Denounces Serbian Extremism

93BA1204C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 93 p 6

[Article by Mirko Galic: "Message From Montenegrin Prince to Compatriots: 'True Courage Is Being Against War'"]

[Text] *The most important thing for Montenegro is to free itself from Belgrade's ultranationalistic strategy and not to be a coparticipant in the crimes of ethnic cleansing, Nicolas Petrovic-Njegos stresses.*

Paris—French architect and Montenegrin prince Nicolas Petrovic-Njegos, "the heir to the throne of Montenegro," has sent a twofold message to his compatriots by way of the newspaper LE FIGARO: opposition to war and opposition to the plan to create a Greater Serbia. In the ethical and political sense, his stance is clear and unambiguous, extraordinary in every regard.

This is not the first time that this descendant of the Montenegrin ruling clan has behaved in this style. In the interview with LE FIGARO, he recalls that he has intervened on several occasions, especially after the shelling of Dubrovnik. "The Montenegrins have joined in with this aggression that cannot be justified in any way," says Prince Njegos. "I have asked them not to participate in this way, nor in any other war of aggression against any community of the former Yugoslavia."

Montenegro, its prince notes, has always existed, and for the five centuries of Turkish occupation it was the only state that managed to resist. Stressing that no one can deny the "privileged ethnic, religious, and cultural ties" between Montenegrins and Serbs, Nicolas Petrovic-Njegos says that today "Montenegrin identity itself is threatened by Greater Serbian ideology." Is the creation of an independent state the solution for Montenegrins? He does not comment on that, leaving it up to the Montenegrins to decide, although he does say that independence itself is not the goal, and that Montenegro must also live within the federal structures of Yugoslavia, a Balkan federation, or Europe.

"It is vital today that Montenegro free itself from Belgrade's ultranationalistic strategy, both in the political sphere—that it maintain its own identity—and in the moral sphere—that it not be a coparticipant in the crimes of ethnic cleansing," this prominent Montenegrin emphasizes. He says that his compatriots have always fought for freedom, and that it is not part of their tradition to attack the civilian population. "Montenegrins are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that they must free themselves from the strong influence of Serbian extremists," Nicolas Petrovic-Njegos believes, stressing that a Yugoslavia created on democratic foundations could be laudable. "I am resolutely opposed to Milosevic's Yugoslavia, which is based exclusively on bullying Montenegrins, and which offers nothing other than ethnic cleansing and poverty due to the embargo."

Not denying that Montenegrins have always been warriors, that they have defended their mountains, their prince says that today that tradition is distorted. "The true standard bearers of Montenegrin courage are the pacifists and democrats. True courage is being against the war," the descendant of Njegos says, asking Europe to support independent newspapers, independent television, and "shy government attempts to disengage from Belgrade's policy."

Kosovo

'Heightened Tension' as Serb Police Arrest Activists

AU1907191693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 19 Jul 93

[Text] The recent situation in Orllan in Podujeve has evidently become tense. Increased Serbian police patrols, which visit this locality every day, are causing the heightened tension.

Following raids under the pretext of searching for weapons, the police are holding Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] activists under arrest. The day before yesterday [17 July], Muharrem Hoxha, chairman of the

subbranch of the Orllan League, and Ismail Sejdiu and Ajet Ruhani from the village of Kalatice were taken to the police station in Podujeve. The latter two were sent to Prokupule, while Muharrem, after being held at the police station for several hours, was apprehended again yesterday and is still being held for interrogation.

Reports from the field state that for a week now, a special unit of the so-called Yugoslav Army has been stationed in Orllan and has started to set up its tents along the shores of the lake and is making [word indisinct] of the field.

In Verzhan-Orllan Street today, [words indistinct] checks have clearly been stepped up and [words indistinct] are carrying out inspections of the [words indistinct] and soldiers.